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4 May 1984

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

EVREN CONGRATULATES 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF ARMENIAN PAPER

Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 4 Apr 84 p 1

[Letter by Kenan Evren]

[Text] This morning we received the following congratulatory telegram from Cankaya sent by His Excellency Kenan Evren, President of our Republic, addressed to the proprietor and senior editor of our paper, Ara Kotchunian:

"I wish to express my thanks for your invitation to attend the ceremony organized on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the paper JAMANAK. I congratulate the directors of JAMANAK, founded in 1908 and published without interruption for 75 years.

The existence of JAMANAK for so long a time acquires an exceptional meaning as it proves to the Armenians living in Turkey that they enjoy the rights of all the other compatriots under the constitutional laws of the country. It also demonstrates that their lives are happy and undisturbed, they learn their mother tongue in their own schools, they pursue their own cultural activities in their associations and they also enjoy freedom of worship.

JAMANAK occupies a special place in our press from this point of view, too.

Today, as in the past, JAMANAK daily has fought against moves to destroy the integrity of our land and people, and braving attacks against it, has pursued its publication in a spirit of friendly and brotherly love. We wish that this spirit continue for many more years to come.

On this occasion, I would like to declare to our Armenian compatriots, through the paper JAMANAK, that all attacks aimed at the integrity of our people will be crushed today as in the past, and those responsible will receive their just punishment.

Furthermore, all our compatriots who have considered these lands their fatherland and who thus, protected by our State, live in it whatever their language, religion and nationality, will enjoy its security and peace in the future as in the past.

There should be no doubts concerning the measures taken in this regard.

I wish perseverance to JAMANAK and I again congratulate its directors."

PRESIDENT OF NEW WAFD PARTY INTERVIEWED ON POSITIONS

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 22 Mar 84 p 3

[Interview with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: "National Unity Is the Unchangeable Doctrine of the Wafd"; in Cairo, date not specified]

[Text] The meeting with the president of the Wafd had to take place in his bedroom. The gentleman was having a cast put on his foot, which was hurt when he got out of his car and stepped into one of the many holes that decorate the face of Cairo. It was unthinkable for the first edition of the newspaper, Al-WAFD to be issued without an interview with the president of the Wafd, so that he could dot his i's, respond to all questions that have been raised in the political street, and refute the accusations made against the Wafd even before it has begun to practice its mass activity and descend into the arena with all its weight!

We sat around Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din while the fragrance of history surrounded us. Everything in the room was old...ancient. It contained no signs of modern civilization except for a television and an air conditioner. On the wall were memento pictures of Sa'd Zaghlul, Mustafa al-Nahhas, and some other old leading figures of the Wafd. There were also recent pictures of Siraj-al-Din playing with his grandsons. In addition, huge quantities of newspapers, magazines, and books were strewn about the spacious room.

It was clear that the room's entire contents needed to be arranged and coordinated by the touch of a caring woman. But God willed to take to his side Siraj-al-Din's companion for life, leaving him nought but the love of his friends and helpers, as well as controversies with his enemies and discussions with members that last until late at night. The gentleman accepts these troubles with zeal, love, and the enthusiasm of a youth in his 20's.

Where did we begin our dialogue with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din? The issues are numerous and interrelated! Were we to begin with the elections, since they are the topic of the hour, or with the charges against the Wafd that say it is trying to turn the hands of time back to the past and write off 30 years of Egyptian history? Is it true that the Wafd is still a prisoner of the past and cannot look to the future? One of us said?

[Question] Let us put these issues aside for a time and start by talking about what is going on inside the house, which is to say, inside the Wafd itself.

The government's newspapers have kept themselves and the people busy with the issue of the disputes within the party. At the same time, they have made a big fuss about the great sympathy with which the Wafd has met from all religious and patriotic currents. What is the truth about this subject?

[Answer] First of all, I would like you to distinguish between the divisions that occurred within the Wafd in the past and the disputes that have arisen recently between two or three Wafdists. There is no similarity between the former and the latter at all. Several splits have occurred in the Wafd. The first was when Lafif left the members in 1922 and they formed the Constitutional Liberals Party. A second split occurred when eight members left in 1932. The third one happened when Mahir and al-Nuqrashi left in 1937 and formed the Sa'dist Association Party. Then Makram 'Ubayd left in 1942 and formed the Wafdish Bloc Party. These things were called divisions or splits because the persons involved left the Wafd and formed other parties. As for what is happening now, it all amounts to purely individual and personal disputes between various Wafdists. These things have nothing to do with the policy or system of the Wafd.

[Question] Since these disputes have found acceptance and interest on the part of the government's newspapers, there is no reason for us not to talk about them in detail, in order to "quiet" the spirits of some writers concerned with the "unity" of the Wafd.

Personal Disputes Among Some Wafdists

[Answer] I will deal with this subject briefly because those involved are alive and capable of replying. Let us begin with the story of Brother Ibrahim Tal'at, for whom I have great love and respect. All that happened is that he had a verbal disagreement with one of his Wafdist comrades who is well known in Alexandria. When I learned what had happened, I asked Brother Ibrahim to appease his comrade with friendly expressions, because the two of them have been friends for 40 years. I asked some of our brothers in Alexandria to help resolve the discord between them. I was then surprised when Ibrahim published a statement in which he dealt with things having no relation to the subject of the dispute with his comrade. He sent me a letter in which he asked to be relieved temporarily of political activity because of the state of his health. In its essence, the issue is no more than a mere dispute between two comrades who are among the Wafdists of Alexandria.

[Question] And the resignation of Kamal Khalid?

[Answer] That is an even stranger story, because Kamal was always at my side. I was surprised when he published his resignation in the newspapers and mentioned reasons having little if anything to do with the true cause that made him angry. This was a dispute between him and a comrade of his in Dumyat

concerning the office of the reporter of the Wafd committee in the governorate of Dumyat. All Wafdists know that all of the party's current structures are temporary. They will all be reformed via election by the party members in each governorate, after the general elections have been held.

[Question] These comrades have raised the issue of the "pseudo- Wafdists" who are "assailing each other" now for membership in the Wafd. They have described the latter as climbers, upstarts, and opportunists who are greedy for the spoils. How do you respond to these accusations?

[Answer] I wish I knew who these climbers and opportunists who have joined the Wafd were! We still have not announced the names of the new personalities who have joined the Wafd! They would do honor to any party. I will not hide from you the fact that I welcomed them so that they would cooperate with us. Any political party has to do this. That is, it has to take in successful, good personnel.

Moreover, I do not know who the great hypocrites or infiltrators are who have joined the Wafd. I do not know what things of value we have, so that we can accuse people of trying to get them. On the contrary, the Wafd is now facing a campaign of calumny, claims, plots, and curses aimed at causing an incident between the Wafd and the other patriotic elements in the country and stirring up disputes in the ranks of the Wafdists themselves. The Wafd does not possess any benefits now. This campaign of calumny and vituperation is hurting every Wafdist now.

There Is No Relationship Between the Lists and the Membership of the Committees.

[Question] Perhaps the causes of dispute go back to the desire to be nominated on the Wafd's lists.

[Answer] Let me say this with all due clarity. There is no relationship at all between the membership of the Wafd committees and the nomination lists for the elections. Not everyone who fills the post of committee recorder or member necessarily has his name show up on the nomination list. There will be no more than 445 candidates, but the lists of the membership of the Wafd committees contain more than several thousand names!

[Question] As long as we are talking about disputes within the party, we would like to know the story of the resignation of Engineer Faraj Fudah.

[Answer] To speak truthfully, I was astonished by his resignation. Brother Faraj has a good position in my estimation. A dispute arose between him and another party member, Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il. A difference of opinion need not spoil a friendship, assuming that it takes place inside the party, and not in the pages of the newspapers. Engineer Faraj Fudah wrote a book 3 years ago in which he raised a number of issues to which some people were opposed. In fact, the man was doing justice to the truth when he said he was expressing his own personal opinion, not that of the party. The Wafd is a democratic party that considers freedom to be sacred. We did not object to his views. Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il wrote an article in AL-AHRAR,

and Faraj Fudah responded to it. I did not interfere. I was intending to sit down with them in order to organize the process of dialogue within the party. Then I was surprised by Brother Faraj's publication of his resignation in the newspapers. He repeated the same nonsense as the others...infiltrators and exploiters!

The Religious Presence Within the Wafd

[Question] Perhaps talking about Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is leading us to raise the issue of the "religious presence" inside the Wafd Party. They consider it to be a new phenomenon for the Wafd.

[Answer] First of all, I say to you that Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is an open-minded scholar of broad understanding. He is convinced of his religious message and believes deeply in national unity. I will tell you a secret that is disclosed for the first time here. At one of the meetings of the Wafd's higher council, I asked them to suggest a slogan for the party. Shaykh Salah asked to speak, and then he suggested that the slogan should be, "a crescent holding a cross," in confirmation of national unity. It was a big surprise for all of us. Our Coptic brothers were the most pleased of all. This should show you the stupidity of the slanderous suggestions that claim that disputes exist between Salah and his Coptic comrades on the Wafd's higher council.

[Question] Why do you think this dust has been kicked up? What is the goal of the attempt to stir up the beginnings of religious discord among the members of the higher council?

[Answer] The goal is to weaken the Wafd's center in the electoral campaign. I knew about this plan ahead of time. I pointed it out in the meetings of the Wafd's higher council. Those who are trying to stir up religious discord have one of these things in mind: either they are trying to make the Wafd lose the sympathy of the Copts, or they are trying to cost it the sympathy of our Muslim brothers, or they wish to deprive it of the sympathy of both groups at once. Then again, they may wish for a split to occur in the ranks of the Wafd. At any rate, they think they will profit in the electoral campaign. They are forgetting that they are playing with fire when they try this cheap ploy. They are exposing the country to great dangers that will lead to the igniting of sectarian sedition between the two elements of the nation.

Why Are They Igniting the Fire of Sectarian Sedition

[Question] Historically, it is well known that the Wafd has succeeded in achieving national unity since the 1919 revolution. We have only heard of what is called sectarian sedition in recent years. What motives had led to the attempt to kindle this discord?

[Answer] If you examine recent history, you will find that the problem of sectarian sedition arose only recently. It was invented for political purposes and used as a pretext for despotic measures that ended with the

arrests of September 1981, along with some unusual measures vis-a-vis a religious leader, Pope Shanudah, and some Muslim religious scholars. When the arrests occurred, we were surprised that President al-Sadat put the Muslims in Turah Penitentiary and the Christians in Abu Za'bal Penitentiary. He did this to give people the impression that a sectarian dispute existed! However, luckily enough, this deception did not fool anyone. On the first day of our detention, Brother 'Adil 'Ubayd stood up and criticized this discrimination as loudly as he could. He demanded that the prison administration transfer him to Abu Za'bal Penitentiary, so that he could stay with his Coptic brothers. He said that the goal of this discrimination was to fan the fire of sectarian sedition. In the same way, Dr Milad Hanna took the same position in Abu Za'bal and demanded to be transferred to where his Muslim brothers were staying. Though there is really no need for it, I confirm that national unity has been and will remain the unchangeable doctrine of the Wafd.

The True Relationship Between the Wafd and the Brothers

[Question] The government's writers ceaselessly make a fuss about the sympathy that exists between the Wafd and the Muslim Brothers. Some think that the sympathy between the two sides will shake the foundation of the party formation. What exactly is the real relationship between the Brothers and the Wafd?

[Answer] In truth, the relationship between the Wafd and the Brothers has been a good one, historically. The Brothers have always helped the Wafd in the elections. In recent history, I was a member of the coalition cabinet formed under the leadership of Husayn Sirri in 1949. Through it, I waged a bitter struggle to gain the freedom of thousands of brothers who had been arrested, since I believed that every Egyptian had a right to his freedom. When the Wafd formed the cabinet in January 1950, it issued in its first week a decree that freed all the detainees. We gave them back the House of the General Center and all their associated property. Moreover, the Brothers are not a political party. Since the decision to dissolve them in 1954, they have had no official existence. They are no more than Egyptian citizens with the right to support whatever existing parties they choose.

[Question] But some draw no distinction between the sympathy that exists between the Wafd and the Brothers, and that which exists between them and the extremist religious groups. Perhaps they do so out of a desire to corrupt the relationship between the Wafd and the religious current in general.

[Answer] We distinguish between the Muslim Brothers and the members of the groups with extremist inclinations. They accuse other people of unbelief, including the Brothers themselves. Professor 'Umar al-Talmasani has told me how during the events of September he resided in a cell that held nine individuals. He noticed that one of them prayed by himself instead of with the others. When they asked him for the reason, he said he would not pray behind an unbeliever! Of course, there is no similarity between these people

and the Muslim Brothers. There is nothing to prevent a relationship of friendship, sympathy and love from arising between us and the Brothers. Some of them are very great personalities. The sympathy the Brothers have for us is neither new nor the result of the present circumstances. Neither is it a result of the new electoral campaign. Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il joined the Wafd in 1978, when there were no elections. Why is it strange that there should be sympathy between ourselves and the Brothers? I ask these critics: If the Brothers were to sympathize with another party, would you be happy? Would any party refuse the sympathy of the Brothers?

Secularism and Religion Inside the Wafd

[Question] A long debate has been held concerning secularism and religion inside the Wafd. What is the decisive position on this issue?

[Answer] The position of the Wafd in this regard is plain and clear. There are four kinds of regimes. The first is the non religious government, which denies all religions. The second is the purely religious regime, in which the men of religion control the state, as is currently the case in Iran under the rule of al-Khomeyni. The third is the secular regime, which proclaims the separation of religion and the state. The Wafd rules out all three models. There remains the fourth option -- the regime that does not separate religion from the state. This is the system followed in Egypt, and this is what the Wafd believes in.

[Question] Some opposition parties say a secret alliance exists between the Wafd and the National Party.

[Answer] That is truly laughable. Those making this claim should have provided proof of the existence of this alliance, but they have not done so. Therefore, I will volunteer it for them. The first proof is that the government rejected the creation of the Wafd Party in an official statement issued by the chairman of the Parties Committee last September. Thus, we were forced to turn to the legal system. The second proof is that the government appealed the ruling, when it turned out to be in our favor. The third proof is that our political isolation continued. The government refused to end it. Thus, I and my comrade, Professor Ibrahim Faraj, the general secretary of the Wafd, were compelled to turn to the legal system in order to rectify this illegal situation. There is no final proof: the persistent attack against us waged by the government's newspapers. I think all this evidence truly confirms the existence of an alliance, a truce, and reconciliation between the Wafd and the government's party.

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REASONS FOR RE-EMERGENCE OF WAFD DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 22 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Abu Ahmad al-Fath: "Why the Wafd?"]

[Text] Yes, why the Wafd?

Because the Wafd is not merely an extension of the Revolution of 1919, led and commanded by Sa'd Zaghlul. It is not merely the popular party whose leadership was entrusted to Mustafa al-Nahhas. Similarly, it is not merely because its leader is Muhammad Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, who was exposed to all kinds of oppression for 30 years without turning from his principles to adopt generous hypocrisy. Rather, it is because the Wafd is the first harbinger of true democracy.

In my view, the Wafd is the fruit of a terrible struggle between domination and the people. This fruit would not be able to ripen, were it not for the justice of the courts and the respect of the president of the state for their rulings.

Naturally, when I say the "Wafd", I mean the New Wafd. For the sake of economy, I say merely "the Wafd". The Wafd would not be able to arise and pursue its activity were it not for the judgment rendered by the legal system. The judiciary is Egypt, in the sense of Egypt with all the Egyptians, which must be for all Egyptians. When the principle that Egypt should be for all the Egyptians was violated, the Wafd appealed to the judiciary, which issued a series of rulings acclaimed the world over. All the media published them. This act of publication raised the standing of Egypt. A just and pure judiciary is the most sublime attribute by which a state can be honored.

The Wafd arose from the ranks of the people and resumed its activity. Its leaders were freed of what they called "political isolation" by the rulings of the Egyptian judiciary, which is to say the judiciary of the Egyptian people. Thus, for the first time, there arose in Egypt a party formed by the ranks of the people instead of by command of the ruler. This party practices its rights on the basis of judicial authority ruling in the name of all Egyptians. This is the first true step toward democracy. Thus, it is a decisive reply to the question: "Why the Wafd?"

There Are Still More Reasons

The Wafd is the first true step toward democracy. Thus, those Egyptians who aspire to win back their sovereignty over the land of their country must rally around it and support it, so that it will be able to eliminate the laws that deprive them of this sovereignty.

Because the Wafd is the first step toward democracy, it must work to fulfill all the principles of democracy. These principles are not an experiment, as some say. Rather, they are a firm faith that cannot be shaken or submitted to the formation of the party by the authorities. If such a party rules, democracy becomes an experiment for it.

The press has become the property of the ruler, and Egyptians have been forbidden to publish newspapers freely. It is said that the newspapers have become a "fourth branch of government." My word!

The parties now have a law, a committee, and a committee chairman! My word!

It has become permissible to dissolve the unions and specify the laws for them in detail. My word!

The laws are now violated in accordance with the desires of the ruling party. There is no right that is safe from being eliminated by a law or undone in the obscurity of riddles, such as we see happening in the case of the parties law, the press law, or the obscure riddle of elections conducted with a proportional list.

The opposition has become the other opinion. The government demands that it offer solutions to the crises that the government itself is supposed to solve!

The opposition's effort to come to power has become a crime. As for the way the ruling party holds onto its power and the laws are chosen to strengthen and assure its control, this is patriotic work! Once again I say, "My Word!"

Talking about the burdens of Egyptians is now called the exploitation of suffering.

This is how they have conceived democracy or "the democratic experiment"! Democracy is a faith. The demand for it is not a weapon to be brandished by those who oppose the government until they come to power, at which point they can sheathe it and assume the right to control the people in a willful fashion.

The Wafd Is Supported, and All Eyes Are Upon It

As the people shall support the Wafd, so shall they keep an eye on those who represent it. The Wafd is not merely Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, Ibrahim Faraj, and Wahid Ra'fat. Rather, it is all those who are put forward in

the councils, meetings and nomination lists. The responsibility of the leaders of the Wafd to select its leadership is a most important, delicate, and serious matter. As an Egyptian, above all it is my earnest wish to have the leadership of the Wafd come only from among the true believers in democracy, who will not use their allegiance to the Wafd to gain personal benefits.

Egypt is full of liberals who have borne every kind of sacrifice for the sake of the freedoms of the people and the noble principles of democracy. There is no doubt that these are the right people to bear the responsibility of the defense of these freedoms.

I thought I should record this opinion of mine in the first article so that matters would be clear. I do so because I believe that the Wafd is the light that will enlighten Egypt with true democracy. Therefore, its responsibility to remove all barriers opposing the path of democracy is a great one. The fulfillment of this responsibility requires the provision of sincere faith free of ulterior motives on the part of those who preside over its ranks or are even just affiliated to it.

I record this opinion of mine in the belief that the chairman of the Wafd, its deputy chairman, and its general secretary will be most solicitous for the purity of the leadership. In this they will be supported by everyone who believes in the rights of the Egyptians and loves Egypt.

I now return to the reasons for which Egyptians should support the Wafd. As they are too many to be contained by one article, I shall limit myself to mentioning some of them today.

Protection from Extremism

Since the Wafd is trying to repeal the outworn laws that prevent genuine democracy, it will be the party that finds the way to eliminate extremism of both the religious and non-religious varieties.

Freedom, within the limits of genuinely democratic laws, will allow everyone with an opinion to express it and find a forum in which to do so, be that in the parties or in the newspapers. Newspapers and parties will be created to express diverse opinions.

The war against the Wafd will intensify because of the Muslim Brothers' alliance with it, while the attempts to deprive it of the support of the Copts will continue. This activity is an attempt to spew poison among the ranks of the Egyptians. As long as it has existed, the Wafd has contained both Muslims and Christians and united the cross and the crescent. It was entrusted with national unity, to which it was faithful. The Wafd had no need to turn it into laws.

The Peasant Farmers

The outworn accusations that say the Wafd is the party of the feudalists and that it will arise to strip the peasant farmers of their property and what they call their gains will be heard often. Since the Wafd comes from the ranks of the people, it will never try to deprive a large group of Egyptians of their rights. On the contrary, it will immediately try to end the control and authority of the cooperative associations and the employees of the credit banks. In addition, it will liberate the peasant farmers from the exploitation of cooperative marketing.

The Wafd knows that agriculture is the nerve-center of Egypt's life. It will encourage land reclamation and get rid of the laws that hinder such activity.

The Wafd will try to lay the foundation of justice, so that the relationship between the owners of agricultural land and their tenants will be ruled thereby, so that the income of the tenants will not be affected, while the right of the owners will no longer be ignored. This can be accomplished after the farmers are freed from the control of the cooperative associations and the repugnant exploitation practiced by the employees of the associations and the credit banks, and after cooperative marketing is eliminated. These measures will provide a large amount of income that can be shared by the farmers and the owners.

The Workers

The beneficiaries of the administration will say that the Wafd is the party of the capitalist Pashas, and that it therefore will oppose the workers, give freedoms to the capitalists and destroy the public sector.

The Wafd believes in different kinds of freedom, including economic freedom. That is, it believes in the necessity of encouraging private activity, not in allowing people the freedom to plunder and exploit influence.

It is private activity that has raised the wages and salaries of workers and employees. Any comparison of the wage earned by a worker in any company or private factory with that of a worker in the public sector will show that those working in the private sector earn higher wages.

A free economy offers the only way to realize suitable wages for workers, and not just for those in the private sector, but also for those working in the public sector, because the government will be forced to raise their wages out of a desire to keep its workers.

Since the Wafd will grant economic freedom, it will have to try to make salaries in the public sector competitive with those in the private sector. That is, it will raise wages and salaries for both workers and employees, even for employees of the government.

There are many reasons why Egyptians should support the party that arose from their ranks. They can be summed up by saying that the Wafd is Egypt's hope for eliminating the private kingship practiced by the rulers of the past

and the ruling party, so that the country will become the property of all Egyptians. This can only come about through true democracy.

Support for the Wafd is based on the notion that it is the first step toward democracy, and that support for it is linked to its progress toward the complete realization of democracy. If it deviates from that, then the true believers in democracy must withdraw their support from it and oppose it. The time has come for Egyptians to defend their rights. This defense should not be influenced by the party's position with respect to authority. That is a cheap swindle.

I will have more to say, with God's permission. May He be praised, it is He who grants success.

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CONTROVERSY OVER SEQUESTRATIONS PROBED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 22 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Majdi Muhanna: "The Riddle of the Judicial Rulings Cancelling Sequestration"]

[Text] A few weeks ago, the Court of Cassation issued a ruling on a sequestration case. It said that the imposition of sequestration on individuals on the basis of Emergency Law Number 162 of 1958 was not lawful, because the law only permits sequestration to be imposed on juristic personalities (companies). On this basis, the court said that no individuals on whom sequestration had been imposed in accordance with the Emergency Law were subject to any of the succeeding laws. This is due to a simple reason: These laws apply to those who have been subject to legal sequestration, and there is no such person in Egypt. Therefore, these individuals are not subject to Law Number 150 of 1964, which claimed title to the money of individuals subject to the state, since in the view of the decree they are not subject to it. Neither are they subject to Law 69 of 1974, which determines the settlement of the situations of individuals submitting to sequestration.

As a result of the issuing of this decree, all the effects of the subjection of individuals to sequestration have been annulled. The same is true of all the actions taken by the state with regard to the funds and property it has confiscated. The only persons excepted from this ruling are those for whom the contracts of sale were registered 5 years ago. This hold true both for sales from insurance companies to individuals and from sequestration (the state) to insurance companies.

It is worth noting that most of the real estate and land taken over by the state in accordance with the Emergency Law and the sequestration laws was confiscated more than 20 years ago. This means that we are facing a situation in which there are sequestrations, while judicial rulings exist that say there are none. We have people who are subject to sequestration, while there are rulings that say no one is!

Naturally, this is not a riddle we are supposed to solve. The many laws and pieces of legislation issued by the government have been the direct cause of this.

On 16 May 1981, the Constitutional Court issued a ruling saying that Law Number 150 of 1964 was unconstitutional. This law allowed the state to assume title to the funds and possessions of those subject to sequestration. It also issued a ruling saying that Law Number 69 of 1974 was unconstitutional. This law placed a maximum limit on the compensation to be paid to individuals subject to sequestration, in addition to their families. This limit is no more than 30,000 pounds per person and 100,000 pounds for a family!

In explaining its ruling, the Constitutional Court said that the transfer of the title of funds and property belonging to natural persons (individuals) to the ownership of the state amounted to a violation of private property and an act of confiscation of the same. It said that this in turn was a violation of Article 34 of the constitution, which declares private property inviolate. In addition, it is a violation of Article 36 of the constitution, which forbids public confiscation. Private confiscation is allowable only if a judicial ruling is issued.

After the decree of the Constitutional Court was issued, all those subject to sequestration should have regained their funds and possessions. However, the government refused to implement the ruling of the judiciary. It issued Law Number 141 on 31 August 1981, imposing a new sequestration on the old subjects!

The first article stated: "The orders issued to impose sequestration on natural persons, their families, and their heirs will be treated as if they had never existed."

The second article said: "The natural persons to whom the sequestration measures were applied will have all their money and possessions returned in kind. This applies only to what was not sold, even by preliminary contracts, before Law Number 69 of 1974 went into effect.

That is, the first clause cancelled the sequestrations, while the second one revived them!

The proof that this law was instituted in order to cancel the ruling of the Constitutional Court is that it was issued 3 and a half months later!

This means that before the Constitutional Court issued its ruling in May 1981, the government was already thinking about issuing a law that would consider the sequestration orders to be correct. However, when the state council opposed the draft law, the government was forced, when it was preparing Law 141 of 1981, as well as after the issuing of the Constitutional Court's ruling, to admit that sequestration orders were a mistake. However, it simultaneously reimposed sequestration in the same law!

Counselor Muhammed Tahir 'Abd-al-Hamid, the chairman of the council of state, had the following to say about this bill:

"I will not hide from you the fact that I was shocked when I perused its articles, for they clearly conflict with the principles and text of the constitution on more than one subject. A quick glance at the bill and a little independent thinking suffice to clarify the aspects of these flagrant constitutional violations."

It is worth mentioning that the justifications on which the draft of the first law in August 1980 was based were used again to support the bill when it was issued as the recent sequestration law number 141 in 1981.

Counselor Yusuf Shalabi, the head of the sequestration liquidation office, had this to say on 4 September 1981, a few days after the sequestration law was issued: "This law was issued in order to confront a new situation that arose after the supreme administrative court's verdict was handed down in 1979 and after the Constitutional Court issued its ruling in 1981.

He said that the Agricultural Reform Organization has noted that the area of farmland processed for small farmers amounts to 18,000 feddans, which have been distributed to 9000 families. The organization has asked that the matter be put right by the issuing of a piece of legislation that would preserve the rights of the small farmers who took possession of the land.

Moreover, the insurance companies have said that the value of the real estate that they purchased from public sequestration (the state) amounts to 19 million pounds. Of course, all this real estate was set aside for the claims of the holders of insurance certificates. It does not represent company property. If the ownership of this real estate, which was purchased more than 20 years ago, were to be affected, both the companies and the holders of their certificates would be denied financial security.

In the opinion of those subject to sequestration, the problem is a lot simpler than the way the insurance companies, the Agricultural Reform Organization, and the sequestration liquidation office picture it.

Those who were subject to sequestration think that the real estate affairs of the insurance companies benefit from this situation. They say the companies are working to inflate the problem, as proved by the fact that real estate and apartments are sold for ridiculously small prices that do not represent their true value.

The insurance companies have not even been able to get rid of the real estate which it has been decided to demolish and remove.

Those subjected to sequestration have suggested that the insurance companies withdraw from the matter and leave those to whom they sold the real estate to work it out with the previous owners, so that the state will not bear any burdens.

They respond to the Agricultural Reform Organization by saying that the state turned over 78,000 feddans, out of a total of 96,000 sequestered feddans. They ask: "Are the 18,000 fedans the source of all this complexity?"

In the midst of all these quarrels and this outbidding, a memorandum was issued in March 1981. It is attributed to Engineer Sayyid Mar'i, the assistant to the president of the republic at that time. It dealt with several suggestions for dealing with the effects of the imposition of sequestration.

With respect to the agricultural lands handled by the Agricultural Reform Organization, he suggested either returning them in kind in the form of other pieces of land with comparable rental value, or returning them in monetary form, it being stipulated that compensation would be 140, like the current tax.

As for the real estate sold by the insurance companies, he suggested that compensation equal to the sale price should be offered. This is more compensation than was offered in Law Number 69 of 1974, while being less than the current market value of the real estate.

The maximum limit set for compensation in Law Number 69 was 100,000 pounds.

Finally, the memorandum of Sayyid Mar'i suggested that the basic benefit derived from the draft law suggested by the government should be reconciliation on the part of those who were subjected to sequestration, with the latter waiving any present or future litigation.

AL-WAFD has learned that this memorandum enjoyed acceptance by a large number of those subjected to sequestration, though it would not return to them the money and property sequestered at the beginning of the 1960's!

However, this memorandum never got a chance to see the light because an assortment of employees and peer advisors in the Ministry of Finance, the Sequestration Office, and the insurance companies grouped together to bury it, although it was and still is suitable for breaking the deadlock that still exists between those who were subject to sequestration and the government, which insists on blocking the implementation of the rulings of the judiciary in its various forms, from civil to administrative, cassation, and constitutional. The government does not realize that it is thereby working to lengthen the "wailing wall" known as the tragedy of sequestration in Egypt.

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FRENCH-ISRAELI ELECTRONIC COOPERATION DESCRIBED

Paris ELECTRONIQUE ACTUALITES in French 16 Mar 84 pp 1, 24

[Article by D. Levy]

[Text] Jerusalem--The official visit of Mr Fabius, minister of industry and research, to Israel, laid the foundations for a broad French-Israeli cooperation on industrial investments as well as research and development on joint projects, primarily in electronics.

The interest for a French industrialist to invest in Israel--in the form of plant location, joint venture, or other formula--lies first and foremost in the availability of a highly qualified and stable manpower. Combined with this, are the government's aid to investments and research and development, fiscal advantages, as well as free exchange agreements with Europe and the United States. Foreign investments in Israel are currently estimated at more than 500 million dollars, half of them in electronics. But it is primarily the Americans (90 percent of the foreign investments) who have profited from the "grey matter deposits" and the favorable environment for electronics development in Israel.

The agreement for technical and scientific cooperation reached by Mr Fabius with his Israeli counterpart, Gideon Patt, stipulates the establishment of a joint research association. This association will be defined during a forthcoming French-Israeli meeting in Paris.

The French-Israeli cooperation in electronics will therefore rely--as is the case between Israel and the United States--on investment and development projects financed equally by the two partners (ANVAR--National Agency for the Implementation of Research--and its Israeli counterpart).

These two areas of cooperation have been extensively used by the Americans. Some of the investments are Vishay's plants in Israel (located there for 15 years, develops very high precision resistors and potentiometers, as well as the bulk of its production, 99 percent of which is exported to the United States, Europe, and Japan, and achieves a revenue of 10 million dollars with 400 employees), Motorola (which by 1988 expects to achieve a revenue of

200 million dollars in radiocommunications, industrial control, data transmission, and so on), NS (which has a design center for microprocessor circuits), AXV (which develops thin film capacitors and plans to build a factory), Phasecom (located there for three years, develops coaxial cable transmission systems with 120 employees), and Intel (which is in the process of making the largest American investment in electronics). After having created in 1974 an integrated circuit design center in Haifa (the 8087 microprocessor and the 82586 Ethernet controller in particular, were entirely developed at this center), which now employs 150 people, Intel is building in Jerusalem a circuit production plant which will employ about 600 people beginning next summer. The investment in this project is estimated at more than 150 million dollars (nearly one-half of which will be provided by the Israeli government).

The bilateral research and development agreement BIRDF (Binational Industrial Research and Development Foundation) signed in 1977 has also yielded good results. With a capital of 60 million dollars supplied half-and-half by each government, this foundation makes it possible to finance joint industrial projects, with the manufacturers repaying the loans if the projects are commercially successful. Among the operations thus financed are the development of the private electronic switching exchange Key BX by Telrad and Pentacom (a group of five American companies), generators of computer controlled images by Liacom and Modgraph, or lasers by MLI, as well as a joint company created by Israel Laser Industries and two American firms (Sciaky Bros and Locke Technology).

Isratech in May

Electronics is one of the priorities of the Israeli industrial policy. Its development fulfills two "burning obligations": to acquire the greatest possible technologic independence in order to satisfy the country's military needs (and thus avoid the danger of any embargo), and to export (the only criterion for aid to investment and research and development, is the exportability of the product).

The Israeli electronics industry is characterized by its high technology and great diversity. It consists of 140 companies with a total of nearly 30,000 employees, with six large groups representing 85 percent of the sector (Tadiran, Elta, subsidiary of IAI, Elron, which controls Elscint and Elbit, Motorola, Elisra, and Telrad). In 1983, these companies achieved a revenue of 1.25 billion dollars, of which 500 million in exportation.

A picture of this industry's vitality, as well as an opportunity to make contacts, will be provided by Isratech, the largest show of Israeli technology, which will be held on 21-24 May in Tel-Aviv. This event, which occurs every three years, is an occasion for discussing industrial cooperation projects, exchange licenses, and so on.

Tadiran is the largest group in Israel, with a turnover of 600 million dollars (260 million of which in exportation) and a personnel of 13,000 people. Its area of interest covers professional electronics (air defense equipment, telecommunications, and so on) as well as components of all kinds (lithium batteries, surface wave filters, and so on). Other large firms such as Elbit (information processing), Scitex (image processing), and Telrad (telecommunications), have attained international reputations.

Plants in France

The same is true of Elscint, which has become one of the world leaders in medical imaging. With RMN, Elscint has three strong points against its competitors (General Electric, Technicare, Siemens, Philips, and CGR): it is the only manufacturer which makes its own superconducting magnets, its systems consume five times less cryogenic liquid than those of its competitors, and the architecture of the systems includes multiple processors (which permits the performance of several tasks in parallel). In January, this company (110.4 million dollars in 1983) inaugurated a plant in Montpellier, where it manufactures ultrasonic systems and echographs, and where it wishes to produce superconducting magnets in France.

Fibronics, specialized in equipment for data transmission through optical fibers, has just created a subsidiary in Paris to sell, develop, and maintain all the company's products in France. This 200-employee company, whose revenue (5.2 million dollars in 1983, with one-half of it in the United States) doubles each year, produces coaxial cable multiplexers for IBM and compatible systems, and has just perfected a miniaturized coaxial doubler which needs no power.

Sharnoa electronics, which has just developed a six-axis industrial robot, designed to be an element of a flexible shop, specializes in digital controls for machine-tools. This PME (small and medium-sized enterprise) (3 million dollars in sales, 90 percent of which in exportation) has a subsidiary in France, CNC systems.

Another PME active in exportation, Visonic (1 million dollars in sales with 20 employees) produces very sophisticated alarm systems in the form of active and passive infrared detectors. A French subsidiary assembles equipment and sells security modules for the OEM market.

Among the other Israeli firms "to be continued" which we have visited, are El-De, specialized in high security electronic access controls (fingerprint recognition), Eltek (production of high performance printed circuits), Optrotech (automatic systems for fault detection in printed circuits), and RAD (micromodems for short distance connections).

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EGYPT SAID WITHHOLDING PROMISED FUNDS FOR MOSQUE

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 4 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by Nehama Du'ak: "Egyptians Withholding Their Share for the Renovation of the Hasan-Bek Mosque"]

[Text] The government of Egypt is refusing to transfer funds which it has budgeted for the renovation of the Hasan-Bek Mosque through the Ministry of Religious Affairs and is demanding to transfer them to the Muslim Board of Trustees, it became known yesterday at a ceremony which took place to inaugurate the start of the renovations in the mosque in Tel Aviv.

Chief of the Non-Jewish Religions Branch in the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Dr Nissim Dana, reported that the Board of Trustees applied to the government of Egypt one year ago requesting that it contribute towards renovation of the mosque. Cairo announced its readiness to send three engineers as well as a monetary contribution and since there was no progress in the matter the chairman of the Board of Trustees, 'Ibad Kaboub, applied to the charge d'affaires of Egypt at its embassy in Tel Aviv.

According to 'Ibad Kaboub, the charge d'affaires, Muhammad Kasyuni, told him that his government was prepared to help as promised but only on condition that the funds be transferred directly to the Board of Trustees. When the chairman of the Board reported to Dana the latter instructed him not to continue contacts with the Egyptians. "Participation by the Government of Egypt in the renovation is symbolic of the relations between Israel and Egypt," Dr Dana said. "The funds are to pass through a government ministry as has been customary among governments maintaining proper relations between." Dr Dana noted that the mosque itself is under the jurisdiction of the state and that if there is no alternative the Muslim Board will be permitted to accept the funds directly from Egypt anyway.

The decision to renovate the Hasan-Bek Mosque was made in April 1983 after the tower of the mosque had deteriorated and there appeared a danger of deterioration of additional sections of the building. After contacts among the authorities involved in the matter, it was decided to allocate almost \$2 million for renovations, most of it from a government budget.

Representatives of the Municipality of Tel Aviv were absent from the ceremony last night. 'Ibad Kaboub reported that an invitation had been sent to the municipality and that the ceremony was postponed for a week to enable the mayor, Shlomo Lahat, to participate in it. From the office of the spokesman for the municipality the response was that they did not receive an official invitation to the ceremony.

PETAH-TIQVA SCENE OF SHARP RELIGIOUS-SECULARIST CLASH

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 5 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Gidvon Sameth: "The Petah-Tiqva Showdown"]

[Text] With demonstrations and threats veiled in an ancient ritual ban, Petah-Tiqva is now undergoing one of the most important events in the history of religious-secularist relations in Israel: an attempt to disrupt the status quo through legal means. That is the significance of a modest proposed change in the town's law. It is no wonder that the town now has, for 2 weeks running, drawn thousands of demonstrators to its square. Mayor Dov Tavori is using the religious parties' weapon, with one important difference. He is doing it with majority backing.

The shouts of the religious front were not provoked by the showing of a movie on Friday night. Religious businessmen know how to deal with such situations when it is necessary. The uproar was, rather, due to the fact that Petah-Tiqva could easily become the embodiment of a legal precedent for dozens of other towns.

Meanwhile, Tavori won a major victory. In addition to putting on a good show for the secular population, he managed to involve Minister of the Interior Yosef Burg in the matter, pushing the latter into a corner. The town council, with a majority of 13 out of 23 for the alignment, Shinvy and the independents, approved and passed an amendment to the law, which has now gone to the minister of the interior for his approval -- as provided for in the law. The amendment deals with the opening and closing of businesses on the Sabbath and gives Taburi the authority to act according to his own judgment.

If Burg approves the amendment, it will be an unprecedented move. But there is no chance of that occurring. Dr Burg has already quoted the archaic founding charter of the "Mother of Settlements" (the name given to Petah-Tiqva during the Hibat Tziyon Movement), saying that it is up to the National Religious Party to lead the struggle to preserve the Sabbath. If the minister of the interior objects to the amendment or if he procrastinates and makes no decision, then the matter will go to the High Court of Justice and he will bear the heavy burden of the possible developments which may result.

The bitter anger evoked is due to the transgression of the status quo, whatever that may be -- a modest claim, of course. The religious parties have

for years relentlessly tried to do just that. They imposed their will forcibly on the silent majority, with regard to the anatomy and pathology law, El-Al regulations, in incidents related to the question of who is a Jew, abortion laws and through attempts by the minister of transportation -- following the last coalition agreements -- to further restrict public transportation of the Sabbath.

The Petah-Tiqva incident is a reminder of the power of the status quo and its constant effect on our lives. This status quo has reigned since David Ben-Gurion made certain promises to Agudat Israel 37 years ago. It behooves us to take a look at that document, drawn up on 19 June 1947, to understand how deeply Israeli law has changed since then. The word status quo is never mentioned in that document.

But the letter, signed by Ben-Gurion, Rabbi Fishman and Yitzhaq Greenberg, in the name of the Jewish Agency, stresses that the establishment of the State will require UN approval, "and that will not be granted unless the new State guarantees freedom of conscience for all citizens and unless it is clear that the new State will not be a theocracy, and that all citizens will have equal rights and that in religious and other matters there will be no bias or prejudice."

It is a generalized document, worded perhaps too carefully, promising -- but nothing more -- "full autonomy for every stream of education" (a subject which later caused the downfall of one of Ben-Gurion's governments). On the subject of Kashrut, nothing more was said than that "Every measure should be taken to guarantee that every government kitchen serving Jews will cook only Kosher food." But it does not even say that the kitchen itself must be completely kosher. Based on this wording, Ari Jabotinski asked for a selection of non-kosher food in the Knesset cafeteria during its first term. The clause related to the Sabbath promised only this: "Clearly, the legal day of rest in a Jewish State will be Saturday, with the obvious allowance that Christians and adherents of other religions may rest of their Sabbath holiday."

This modest agreement, which continued the understanding which had existed during the entire period of the organized Zionist movement, has by extension been used as a vehicle for defining the rights of citizens in the State. The historic cooperation between the Labor Movement and the religious factions has been increasingly used by religious institutions to further their own purposes. Instead of "preventing, God forbid, a division of the house of Israel into two," in the words of the document, the religious parties have used it to gain important victories, steering the State away from western democracy and toward theocracy.

In 1970, Ben-Gurion rejected that status quo. But it was too late. In a letter to DAVAR (24 July 1970), Ben-Gurion bemoaned the fact that religious factions had exploited the laws relating to marriage for negative purposes. "I spoke with Minister of the Interior Shapira and I told him: Everything that has happened until now toward legalizing religious law must be negated and it must be established that this is a legal, not a religious, state. Neither religious nor anti-religious factions should determine laws."

The fears of those who predicted infringements on their religious rights never came to pass. The opposite is true: It was the religious factions that pressured the secular population and dealt a severe, protracted blow to the State, the full impact of which can only be realized in retrospect. This was accomplished over the years with shocking callousness. The public's rights were restricted as the religious factions played on the population's unjustified feelings of guilt. Petah-Tiqva, in a way, is a symbol of the attempt to end one very small chapter in Israel's history.

One of the implications, which the majority has become accustomed to accepting from an aggressive minority, is the practice of agreement by silence -- and the bones thrown from time to time to pacify them.

There will be no public transportation on the Sabbath, except in Haifa and a few other select locations. Friday nights will be culturally quiet, but if it is done discreetly, an occasional movie will be shown. Movies, yes; concerts and theater, no. The zoo will be open to the public, but tickets will be sold in advance, or around the corner. During a Saturday performance of the Jerusalem Theater, I was surprised once to find that I was speaking into a hidden microphone which, like in all good spy movies, was concealed in a vase of flowers on stage.

In those areas where particular resistance was anticipated from the secular population, the religious institutions backed off: Soccer games on Saturday are, of course, against the law. But those who pull the strings in the religious community knew better than to interfere in this affair.

Thus the question that has now come up again in Petah-Tiqva takes on so much importance: Why not do this quietly, like in Tel Aviv? There can only be one answer: There is no reason to do it in hiding. The previous mayor, like the mayor before him, understood the exigencies of the coalition system and paid his dues to the religious factions. Not so with Taburi. No one can accuse him of compromising the basic rights of the people.

There is no basis for their demands, neither in the status quo agreement nor on any other ground, except for the power of their position within the coalition. This power, which has been denied them in Petah-Tiqva as in other cities, is still granted them by the government at the national level. And thus their recourse may be to push for a Sabbath law at the national level.

It is no coincidence that the religious parties have thus far avoided the suggestion of a law that would neutralize municipal power. They know that the law would not pass. The presentation of such a law would likely topple the government, and with it would go the benefits which the religious parties are currently granted.

The test in Petah-Tiqva is, therefore, unusual. It requires unusual persistence. It is founded on sound legal ground, majority rule. The minister of the interior has his hands tied. Political extortion in this case would not work. If the test is successful, Petah-Tiqva will become a model for many other tests whose time has come.

ARMS THEFTS INCREASE AT IDF BASES

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 5 Mar 84 pp 1, 11

[Article by Yosef Walter, MA'ARIV Military correspondent: "At IDF They Fear Discussing the Increase in Arms Thefts From Its Bases"]

[Text] Some 40 firearms as well as ammunition and grenades disappear or are pilfered each month from the camps of the IDF. This armament falls into the hands of criminals and hostile elements.

In an exclusive interview with MA'ARIV an IDF officer who had been serving up until a few months ago in a senior capacity in the MAZAH [Military Investigative Police] complained that the phenomenon stems, among other things, from the loosening of discipline, a sign of which is the abandonment of arms and ammunition. He alleges, "To the best of my knowledge there does not exist a unit in the IDF which does not have a shortage of arms. The arms (meaning light arms) find their way into the criminal market and even falls into the hands of hostile elements, members of subversive organizations. This virtually borders on the scandalous. In almost every criminal activity or subversive act which has occurred in years past use has been made of the battle equipment of the IDF."

According to him the increase in arms thefts from the IDF began at the time of the recruitment of marginal youth. He alleges, "The IDF is fearful of discussing the phenomenon as it is of drug abuse and an adequate information base has not been established which might constitute a reaction to the spread of the plague of substance abuse and arms thefts. Things at times reach the absurd--some time ago the Israel Police applied to MAZAH with a request for data on arms thefts in the IDF. It encountered refusal; its reason: details might lead to the press and the reputation of the IDF might be trampled upon." A spokesman of the IDF rejects these allegations out of hand. He emphasizes that in the IDF there is a system of tracking arms by the serial number on each piece. The same applies to other armaments such as grandes which also have serial numbers. There is, too, a registered and computerized follow-up.

With the follow-up, the spokesman stresses, there has not occurred, in recent years, a rise in the loss or theft of arms from the IDF. MAZAH, in which a central unit for special investigations functions, supported by an elaborate intelligence base, initiates a wide-ranging inquiry when it receives a report on a missing arm, its loss or its theft. Thus, in these investigations a considerable number of arms turn up.

Nevertheless, the inspections have revealed, the spokesman continues, that loss of the arms at times is an outcome of the fact that servicemen forget their arms while hitchhiking, as well as during break-ins at the homes of service people on furlough. The IDF spokesman argues that there is full and up-to-the-minute coordination between MAZAH and the Israeli Police.

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HADASHOT DAILY NEWSPAPER CRITICIZED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 5 Mar 84 p 8

[Editorial Shemu'el Schnitzer: "Census of the Illiterates"]

[Text] The newspaper HADASHOT, the appearance of which was preceded by a free publicity trip of radio and television without precedent in the history of media in this country, is underway. Supposedly it is all that it was anticipated to be: a newspaper that had everything--color, giant print, large pictures, gossip, a mammoth sports section, and the like. There is indeed news in it, but in great limitation but this too is part of the pattern by which the new newspaper is constructed.

From the standpoint of format the appearance and the content belong to what is called in the vernacular of the trade "the popular press." The identifying mark of newspapers of this kind (prevalent mostly in Europe and in America) is that they are directed to an audience not very interested in learning what is happening in the country and in the world and its sources are fixed primarily on the piquant side of events. The formula is fixed and firm: much headline and little information, many pictures and little text, a great deal of titillation and little serious approach, and above all--not to fatigue the reader with details lest he is required, Heaven forbid, to exert himself while reading.

The British publisher, Cecil King, who owned this type of newspaper, once cynically remarked: "I am sure that I can increase publication of my newspaper by millions of additional copies. In the final analysis the number of illiterates in England far exceeds the number of my readers."

Whoever is of the opinion that Israel needs a newspaper of this type is of course permitted to attempt it. A free society has room for every kind of experiment, even if its dominant color is yellow. Thus far we have taken pride that in the State of Israel there are only "newspapers of quality" and the popular newspaper does not have representation among us. We thought that because of our special problems there exists here a serious attitude toward the news and its significance.

Now, we too shall have a census of "illiterates" and it will be interesting to learn if indeed Israeli society is moving toward escape from the news to light play.

This manifestation of television and radio girding themselves to provide free commercial publicity to a new product which does not pretend to represent an idea or a world outlook is interesting in and of itself. It is known that despite everything stated in the law of the Broadcast Authority and despite all the institutions enjoined by law to oversee the content of the broadcasts, our broadcast services are conducted by the rule of "each person to his own devices." The general manager, the chairman, the administrative and the plenary committee always appear a week later to lament what can no longer be responded to.

But have we really degenerated to the point that a situation can be created wherein a new newspaper can employ a significant number of Broadcast Authority and IDF airwaves personnel as columnists and correspondents and publicly announce this while at the very same time the radio and the television welcome its appearance with great fanfare as though it is announcing the coming of the Messiah?

Is this not an odd coincidence, to use a very careful expression? Must the State indeed place its resources and its investments in the equipment of the communications and electronic media at the disposal of interests wishing to pave the road for a private publisher?

The newspaper HADASHOT came into the world accompanied by a sharp controversy with the Journalists Union and with the Printers Guild. Nevertheless, the chairman of the Labor Party, Shimon Peres deemed it proper to adorn the first edition with a personal article of his own.

Up to now it was customary for anyone standing at the head of the Labor Party to be enjoined by a certain measure of solidarity with workers who are fighting for the conditions and the prerogatives which they acquired for themselves in a prolonged professional struggle.

Shimon Peres, it would appear, has a different approach, if he in fact saw the opportunity to demonstrate solidarity precisely with someone unprepared to recognize the cooperative agreements and the representative union of workers.

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CSO: 4423/45

DATA ON REFUGEES IN WEST BANK PRESENTED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 6 Mar 84 p 3

[Article: "About Half a Million Refugees Live in the Territories"]

[Text] In the West Bank, out of a population of about 750,000 people, there are about 280,000 refugees. In the Gaza Strip, there are about 230,000 refugees out of a total population of 475,000. These figures were presented in a new publication recently published by the Center for Information, entitled "Will They Be Refugees Forever?: A Picture of the Situation and Suggestions for a Resolution." The Publication was prepared with the cooperation of the office of former minister Mordekhai Ben-Porat, and was published after his resignation.

The report indicates that about 80,000 refugees live in camps on the West Bank, 170,000 in refugee camps in the Gaza Strip. A significant portion of the refugees today therefore live in cities and villages. It was also reported that Israel accepted refugees back on an individual basis: Up to 1967, people returned to Israel in the framework of uniting families, due to recognition of infiltrators as residents, the granting of resident status to unauthorized returnees, returning bedouins, and another 40,500. Since 1967, the report states, more than 60,000 people have returned to the West Bank in the framework of uniting families, and more than 10,000 to Jerusalem -- for a total of more than 110,000 people.

The Ben-Porat commission report indicated that as far as the plan for establishing refugee camps, this will be accomplished in stages over the next 5 years. The implementation of the plan will cost around \$2 billion. Israel hopes, according to the report, that international organizations and countries to whom the refugee question is close at heart will rally to aid and finance the new plan.

It was further stated that the development plan is based on the need to give the refugee a feeling of permanence in his place of residence and the feeling of belonging to the society in which he lives. This will be accomplished by settling the refugees permanently on land they own, in housing with an appropriate foundation and public services, and by integrating them socially, economically and organizationally into the population, as residents or groups of residents with equal rights and with the same status as Arabs in Judaea and Samaria. The report went on to say that "the refugee camps will be constructed in such a way as to wipe out the negative stereotype generally associated with them."

'QISHON LINK' WATER PROJECT DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 6 Mar 84 p 11

[Article by Atallah Mantzur: "The Qishon Hook-Up: From Haifa to the Yezre'el Valley and Back"]

[Text] Veteran residents of the Yezre'el Valley will once again experience that pioneer feeling, this time because of the decision to implement the "Qishon Link" plan, the first of its kind in Israel and perhaps the largest project of its kind in the world. The goal of the project is to save around 25 million cubic meters of water from Israel's dwindling supply by collecting waste water from the greater Haifa area. Since the agreement for the construction of the huge project was signed between Palgey Mayim Water Diversions, representing the farmers in the Valley, and the firm of Mekorot, the citizens' council has twice awarded the Valley Prize (in the name of now deceased Gidvon Tzembal of Tel-Adashim) to Water Diversions managers -- former manager Me'ir Ben-Me'ir of Yikna'am and current manager Asher Stein of Kibbutz Hazorea'. In the Yezre'el Valley, there is no greater esteem for a public official and his actions than the granting of this prize.

For the first time in the history of the State, farmers have agreed to take a tremendous risk by relying on waste water to such a large degree and for so many different crops (not just cotton).

What are the motives of the people in the Yezre'el Valley? Efravim Ben-Me'ir, a Palgey Mayim manager, says that one of their motives is the willingness and desire -- in a pioneer sense -- to contribute to the country's water resources, and, he is quick to add, there were practical reasons as well. The people saw the day coming that urban and industrial demands for water would be so great that allowances for agriculture would have to be cut. To ensure sufficient water for the Yezre'el Valley (which lacks significant water resources of its own), they decided to take upon themselves the risks of using waste water. Palgey Mayim, the firm representing the water interests of about 60 farms in the Yezre'el Valley, signed a contract with Mekorot exactly 7 years ago. This week, the purified waste waters from Haifa will begin to flow to a catch basin in Ma'ale-Haqishon in the Kfar Barukh area. The waste from Haifa will be purified twice, in two waste purification plants, and will then be transported via a 36-inch pipe line to the catch basin which was prepared on an area of 2,000 dunams (capable of

holding 12,000 cubic meters of water at an average depth of 9 meters). The basin is divided into two sections and four reserve basins have been built (in Ta'anakhim, Ram-On, Tabur and Deveret) to allow more flexible usage. The combined capacity of the basins is 19 million cubic meters.

Over the past few years, Haifa has been supplying about 17 million cubic meters of waste water. According to the agreement, the Yezre'el Valley will give up a proportionate amount of water they now receive from the national water network (plus 7 million cubic meters from local wells and 4 million cubic meters from rain water collected in the Valley). The agreement provides for 5 million cubic meters of waste to go to Gush Zevulun (mainly to Kibbutz Yagur for its cotton fields) and 12 million cubic meters to the catch basin in Ma'ale Qishon. Further, the network was built to hold twice as much. Until now, waste from Haifa had, after purification, been pumped out to sea. This year, they hope to recycle it for agricultural uses in the Valley. But there is no certainty that the plans, which cost 1.5 billion shekels, and for which 4,300 dunams of fine land was sacrificed by Valley residents, will come to fruition. The completion of the "Qishon Link" project is threatened by a dispute between the participants. Mekorot and Palgey Mayim set up a joint committee to implement the project. Representatives from the two firms were granted equal decision-making power, but Palgey Mayim representatives were given a preferential position to safeguard the interests of the farmers against adverse economic decisions. When Afula municipality objected to situating the catch basin near its boundary, Me'ir Ben-Me'ir, Palgey Mayim's manager at the time, did not hesitate to drink the purified water himself, to pacify the people of Afula. The current manager, Efravim Ben-Me'ir (no family relation to the previous manager), says that the purified waste water is "cleaner" than any other water in the Yezre'el Valley. Water pumped from the Megido area was found to contain 600 milligrams of salt, which, he says, makes it unfit for agricultural use. Even flood water contains 450 milligrams of salt per liter and would have to be mixed with rain water to reduce the salinity before it could be used. In comparison, the waste water contains only 400 milligrams of salt to the liter.

Ben-Me'ir is concerned about the salt and chemical content of water used in the Yezre'el Valley. The salt and chemical levels are increasing each year and the amount of water returned to the soil (no more than 350 cubic meters in a year in the Ta'anakhim area), is not enough to "cleanse" the soil. Those figures apply to average years, not a drought year such as the current one. "The salt accumulating in the ground is creating land that is unsuitable for agriculture." Near Kibbutz Sharid, for example, there is a tract of land that cannot be worked for these reasons, and it will not be workable within the next decade.

Given the fear of the farmers that their fields will become too saline and the desire of area representatives to protect their autonomy to the greatest possible degree, differences of opinion have surfaced between project participants relative to the completion of the plan. Mekorot feels that the joint administration with Palgey Mayim ended its tenure with the construction of the purification plant. Now, the plant will be operated by Mekorot, although the firm is willing to include representatives from Water Diversions

in a new joint administration where the latter will have the right of "guidance" while Mekorot will be responsible for the actual administration. Ze'ev Ashkenazi, Mekorot director, says: "The Qishon Link is a Mekorot project like any other. Mekorot invested 15 billion shekels in the project and Palgey Mayim only 10 million. It is clear to whom the project belongs." The Palgey Mayim people claim that the Qishon Link is a new type of enterprise involving great risk -- and much sacrifice -- on the part of Yezre'el Valley farmers. Ashkenazi replies that for those reasons they agreed to a joint administration with guidance from Palgey Mayim. The Mekorot representatives will be area people from Mekorot's northern sector, as stipulated in the agreement signed by Palgey Mayim 7 years ago. He emphasizes the word "guidance."

Palgey Mayim managers Efravim Ben-Me'ir and Ze'ev Gur of Kibbutz Alonim are persistent in their opposition. Only crazy people like us could have accepted waste water instead of clean water, they say. The Mekorot people have no experience in the treatment of sewage, and as opposed to prevailing conditions in other areas, we will be using waste water for all agricultural crops. "We will not allow any outside group to determine the quality of the water we use. Only the farmers themselves can decide that. We are afraid. There are too many question marks. The potential damage is too great. If we are not participants in the enterprise we will not use the water and it will have to be pumped back out to sea." A minute later, they calm down and say: "We will not sabotage the plan and we will not hold up the work. Anyway, the water will not be used for another 60 days."

9811

CSO: 4423/44

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH ZAIRE--A cooperative agreement between Israel and Zaire was signed at the end of the week in Jerusalem, by Zaire's Minister of Tourism Naguli Belanga and his host, Minister of Tourism Avraham Sharir. The two agreed to speed up the opening of a direct air route between the two countries. Belanga and Sharir also agreed to examine the possibility of setting up a joint company to work on accelerating projects related to tourism in Zaire. Details on the operation and management of the company will be decided at future meetings. The minister from Zaire asked his Israeli colleague to encourage investors and private entrepreneurs from Israel to visit Zaire and investigate investment opportunities in the field of tourism. In real terms, a decision was made to hold a "Zaire Week" in Israel, with folkloric events, food exhibitions and tourism films. Travel agencies in both countries will be encouraged to expand and offer package deals from Zaire to Israel and vice versa. During the signing of the agreement, Minister Sharir said: "The importance of this new agreement extends beyond the realm of tourism to the expansion of our ties with Africa, which are now being renewed with added dimensions." Belanga talked excitedly about his "fantastic visit to Israel," saying: Zaire wants to learn from Israel and Israel's experience in the development of tourism. My visit will deepen the ties and friendship between the two nations. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Mar 84 p 8] 9811

NEW CARGO AIRLINE--Transportation Minister Havim Korfu has approved the establishment of a new cargo line and yesterday signed a license for its commercial operations. The new company, Aviran Airlines Ltd, will operate only out of 'Atarot airport in Jerusalem; - all cargo will be loaded and unloaded in Jerusalem. Flights will run from 'Atarot to any point outside of Israel, with the exception of the United States and Canada. The company is only allowed to operate planes no larger than the Boeing 707 or DC 8. The license is only valid for 1 year. After the company proves its professionalism, it will be granted a license to operate by the civil aviation administration. A transportation ministry spokesman said that the new company's activities at 'Atarot will contribute to the development of the field in Jerusalem into an international airport. The new company was established by four former Arkia pilots. It is their intention to develop new markets and fly cargo to destinations which El Al and CAL do not currently serve. The limitations imposed on the new company by the minister of transportation, specifically that the line can operate only out of

Jerusalem, will mean that planes on their way to other destinations will have to land at one of the airports on the Eastern Mediterranean. This is because the runway at 'Atarot is relatively short and the takeoff weight of the planes is limited. Therefore, the amount of fuel they can carry will not suffice to reach distant destinations. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 6 Mar 84 p 4] 9811

CSO: 4423/44

OPTIONS FOR PEACEKEEPING FORCE EXAMINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 368, 10 Mar 84 p 25

/Text/ After the Soviet veto in the UN Security Council scuttled the French plan to send an international peacekeeping force to Beirut, Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon Soldatov contacted Lebanese political leaders to affirm that his country was not against the principle of sending an international peacekeeping force to Lebanon, but was against sending an international peacekeeping force that, in the end, would be transformed into an international cover for an American military presence in Lebanon, as is now the case with the part of the Sixth Fleet stationed in Lebanese waters near Beirut.

Reports about the discussions between Ambassador Soldatov and Lebanese leaders known for their association with Syria were made public in the belief that there would be new discussions in the Security Council about sending a UN peacekeeping force to Lebanon, but under different conditions than those stipulated by the French plan.

Two days after these Soviet talks, Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali issued a statement revealing the existence of an Egyptian plan that would be presented to the Security Council. The plan called for sending a peacekeeping force to Lebanon, but took into consideration all of the reasons for the failure of the French plan. It contained articles that made it unlikely to meet with a Soviet or American veto.

While the Lebanese capital was waiting for the details of the Egyptian plan, political and diplomatic circles in Beirut were saying that the French plan, which was defeated by a Soviet veto, would be nearly impossible to revive in the Security Council in its previous form. However, the plan was important in that it had become a trial balloon, probing the positions of the parties concerned with the Lebanese situation. It revealed the truth of these positions and this will be taken into consideration when the other plan is brought up for discussion in the Security Council or, more correctly, during the second round of consultations on the subject in the international organization.

It is well known that Soviet objections to the French plan were, in the end, confined to one article. The Soviets wanted to stipulate that the United States withdraw its Sixth Fleet warships from Lebanese waters so that Washington would not use the UN international force as a cover for it to return to carry out its military role in the Lebanese crisis.

Damascus was in complete agreement with Moscow's position and coordination between them was thorough during this affair. The French rebuke of the Soviet stance in the Security Council did not close the door to resumption of consultations about a new plan, since sending a UN peacekeeping force to Lebanon is inevitable as a primary step to be taken in the context of what is currently being done to stop the Lebanese war and move toward finding political solutions.

New consultations that began with the announcement of the Egyptian plan again became deadlocked over Soviet conditions that were refused by Washington. The United States believes that withdrawing its fleet is impossible, not because this would confirm a total defeat for the American role in Lebanon, but because this fleet has a security role to play in the Middle East, a role whose aim is to support American interests in the region. This could force the Kremlin leaders to insist on the withdrawal of these ships from Lebanese waters in order to weaken the American capability to pursue peace plans to solve the Middle East crisis.

Despite these strategic goals behind the American and Soviet positions, current international efforts are aimed at reaching a compromise formula that would satisfy Moscow and not anger Washington.

Of the proposals offered by the beginning of this week, the Soviets have agreed that the removal of the American fleet need not be total, but that the ships move 100 to 150 nautical miles away from Lebanese territorial waters. Amid these international efforts, it was clear that the Soviet position would not be abandoned. This has convinced some Western and Arab diplomatic sources that Moscow is continuing a policy of squeezing the last possible drop out of America in Lebanon. Since the withdrawal of the American marines from Beirut, the Soviet capital, in agreement with the Syrian capital, has insisted that there be a complete withdrawal of the American role in Lebanon--men and ships. Aside from this strategic Soviet-Syrian background, the French plan was not accepted officially and politically in Lebanon. On the official level, the Lebanese Government refused to settle for putting an international peacekeeping force in Beirut to separate the combatants and secure a ceasefire, because they feared that the presence of these forces would become an established fact, as happened in Cyprus. In other words, they feared the "Cyprusization" of the Lebanese situation and the ultimate partition of Lebanon. In order to avoid this dangerous development, the Lebanese Government demanded that UN forces be deployed throughout all of Lebanon to restore the unity of Lebanese territory. The Lebanese side reiterated this position in discussions conducted by French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson when he visited Beirut at the end of last week. However, in contrast to this official position, which was open to international bargaining, another Lebanese position emerged, advocated by Islamic political and religious leaders. This position calls for activating the international peacekeeping force present in the south of Lebanon and deploying it throughout the region to replace the Israeli forces which must withdraw in accordance with resolutions issued by the UN Security Council. In a meeting held by the religious leader of the Shiite faction, Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, with the ambassadors of the United States and the Soviet Union, Shams-al-Din insisted on this position and expressed the desire that the two superpowers take a positive stance on this demand in the Security Council when the subject is again discussed. The Islamic

position in general and the Shiite position in particular will affect the course of current consultations to return to the Security Council and to discuss sending a peacekeeping force to Lebanon. This is not only because the Shiite faction, through its military presence in Beirut, is capable of blocking the deployment of any international peacekeeping force in Lebanon whose deployment does not include the south, but also because new developments since the Lebanese-Syrian summit will themselves make this Shiite demand an official Lebanese, Syrian, and perhaps Arab, demand. This is especially true since the abrogation of the 17 May agreement, and the belief that the deployment of UN forces throughout the south is the alternative to this agreement and represents an international guarantee of the security of Israel and its borders.

12608

CSO: 4404/384

FRANJIYAH'S ROLE IN LAUSANNE CONFERENCE EXPLAINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 370, 24 Mar 84 pp 12-13

[Article: "Lausanne's Star"]

[Text] Were it not for what is between ex-President Sulayman Franjiyah and Pierre al-Jumayyil, the Phalanges Party chairman, people would say that Franjiyah fabricated the well-known incident in Lausanne to justify his support for the Lebanese Front on the problem of employment on a sectarian basis which dominated the conference and obstructed its activities throughout the past week. But those who have heard and watched the very heated row between ex-President Franjiyah on one side and ex-President Camille Sham'un and Pierre al-Jumayyil on the other side have realized that Franjiyah faults the Lebanese Front for many more things than his colleagues in the Salvation Front, namely Karami, Junblatt and Birri, fault it. There is no Lebanese outside the conference, no Arab official and no Arab or foreign observer who has not become familiar with the content of this row which has gone beyond ordinary words and has reached limits that exceed the imagination. The gist of the row is that it has reaffirmed Franjiyah's positions on the following points:

First, there is nobody in the entire world who can go one up on Franjiyah's Christian belonging, and particularly on his Maronite belonging.

Second, there is nobody in the entire Arab world who can go one up on Franjiyah's Arabism and his devotion in serving the Arabs and the Arab causes.

Third, nobody in Lebanon can say that he is more Lebanese than Sulayman Franjiyah. Sulayman Franjiyah could have won his Lebanese identity and lost his Arabism but he preferred to risk losing "Lebanon" rather than lose both his Arabism and Lebanon's Arabism.

On the other hand, Franjiyah is a principal founding member of the Salvation Front that is hostile to the Lebanese Front and there is nobody in the Salvation Front who opposes Franjiyah or considers him imposed on this front.

But what happened is that Franjiyah has not permitted the Salvation Front to impose the demand for non-sectarianism in employment, meaning that Franjiyah does not want the presidency of the republic, the premiership and the Chamber of Deputies speakership to be touched even remotely. In this regard, Franjiyah

says: "If mistakes or excesses have happened, then they are personal problems and not problems of the constitution and of the positions. Therefore, the injustice from which some sects believe they are suffering is not a constitutional injustice, presidential injustice or injustice of the sectarianism in employment. All the Lebanese sects are represented in the state without oppression or unfairness."

Those close to Franjiyah interpret these statements by saying that "Lebanon is a country built on a Christian-Islamic agreement, with the Christian side taking this and that and the Muslim side taking such and such. Therefore, any current disagreement on this particular point is a fabricated disagreement that does not at all serve the interest of a united Lebanon."

In the light of this position [by Franjiyah], the Salvation Front is now faced with one of two options, each of which constitutes a dilemma to the front. The Salvation Front will either have to approve ex-President Franjiyah's paper (constitutional charter), thus allowing the Lausanne conference to succeed, or will have to cling to Nabih Birri's paper which demands the abolition of political sectarianism, thus losing Franjiyah on the one hand and the demands on the other. This is why the observers say that what Franjiyah did in his heated row with the Lebanese Front has been a master stroke. He has ruled out any attempt for reconciliation, understanding or agreement with the Lebanese Front on the one hand and has stood in the face of his front's demands on the other. He has emerged as a Maronite here and an opposition leader there. This particular position is what has made ex-President Franjiyah Lausanne's star because he has seemed, in all he has done and said, as if he wants to bolster the position of Amin al-Jumayyil as president of the republic and "father of all the Lebanese," as the man "with the position above all positions in the republic" and as the man "whose powers are indisputable."

8494

CSO: 4404/395

SSNP CHAIRMAN EXPOUNDS PARTY'S VIEWS ON, SOLUTIONS TO CRISIS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 370, 24 Mar 84 pp 26-28

[Interview with In'am Ra'd, Syrian Social Nationalist Party chairman, by Antoine 'Abd-al-Masih in Paris: "Two Things Have Fallen in Lebanon, Namely Sectarianism and Wager on Foreigner; Partition of Lebanon Is Final Suicide; As Long as We Are Going to Force Israeli Occupier to Evacuate, Why Should We Conclude Contracts With Him; Lebanese National Movement Has Committed Violations and It Is not Infallible;" date not specified]

[Text] Since its foundation and until the present, the SSNP [Syrian Social Nationalist Party] has played a fundamental role in Lebanese political life. But it has always been the "party different from others" for reasons connected with the internal circumstances undergone by the party or with Lebanon's political circumstances. There is no doubt that the Nationalist Party's basic distinguishing mark is that it has been historically a non-sectarian party and that it has maintained, and continues to maintain, this characteristic during the Lebanese war at a time when the masks have fallen off numerous faces.

In'am Ra'd, the SSNP chairman, has visited Rome, the Vatican and Paris where he made political contacts and held meetings with the officials there. AL-MUSTAQBAL met Ra'd in Paris and conducted the following interview with him:

[Question] What are the objectives of your visit to Rome, the Vatican and Paris and what have you discussed with their officials?

[Answer] We have visited France and Italy at this turning point of the Lebanese crisis and in the wake of the dramatic developments that have taken place in recent weeks and that have resulted in abolition of the 17 May accord and the convening of the Lausanne conference. We had contacted the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the arrangements for our visit were made in advance. We have met with Mr Guttman, the general director of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bruno Guillet, the head of the Middle East Department, and Andre Pinot, the deputy chairman of the French Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. We have also met with the Gaullist opposition, represented by Mr (Moset), the new officer in charge of foreign relations in the Rally for the Republic [RPR]. In all these meetings in France, we have raised several topics, the first being our wish to see a French role detached from the U.S. and Israeli policies vis-a-vis the Arab world generally and toward Lebanon in particular.

The early signs of such a role have begun to emerge, even though partially, in the past 2 months, with France trying to put distance between itself and the U.S. position, especially after the involvement of the U.S. position in Lebanon with shelling, destruction and so forth, and with France turning toward dialogue with all the Lebanese parties. The second point we have raised is that on the basis of this independent role that is detached from the U.S. and Israeli roles, there is the issue of protecting the minorities as a colonialist scheme that justifies foreign intervention in the area. France can steer clear off this role and can act as an influential party by virtue of its relations with the various Lebanese parties. The final point we have raised in our meetings is that the united, sovereign and independent Lebanon to which we accept no alternative is a Lebanon within an Arab framework and is tied by fundamental relations to its Arab world. Therefore, the big mistake and the big illusion lay in the attempt to replace Lebanon's Arab relations, especially with Syria, by its relations with Israel in the 17 May accord and in the course that was to be followed afterward. After this bitter experience which has ended with the regime itself cancelling the accord on which it had banked so much, it has been irrevocably established that Lebanon is an Arab state and that, consequently, what is natural and historical cannot be replaced by what is transient, i.e. what is the result of the Israeli invasion and Israeli occupation of Lebanon. These issues have been received with understanding by all the French parties, especially by the French officials with whom we have held our discussions.

In Italy, I met with Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti who received us as an official delegation in Italy. I held with Andreotti a round of talks which lasted 2.5 hours on all these issues and others. Naturally, we expressed our appreciation to Italy for its abidance by the peaceful mission of its forces and for its non-involvement in the Lebanese war. We conveyed the same thanks to the Italian parties with which we met within the framework of the Italian-Arab Friendship Association.

Our presence in Rome coincided with a retreat which the Pope had announced. This retreat made it impossible to meet with the Vatican officials. However, upon contacting the Vatican an exception was made, considering that Monsignor (Bacci), the Vatican's undersecretary of foreign affairs, is entrusted in such emergency cases to receive whoever comes. Monsignor Bacci, the undersecretary of foreign affairs, received us. Monsignor (Safrestti) would have received us but he was on retreat. We discussed with Monsignor Bacci the importance of the issue of national detente and the issue of the Israeli role in Lebanon and its danger not only to Lebanon but to the Christians in particular because Israel has tried to use them for its security, expansionist and military objectives, especially the attempt in which Israel is engaged in south Lebanon to create popular security fence and to project itself as the defender of Christians in the south. We have seen what this role has done to the Christians in the mountain [Mount Lebanon]. This is why we have appealed to the Vatican to confront this imminent danger coming to the Christians from Israel and to obstruct, with its praiseworthy efforts, the involvement of the Christians or of part of them-- because most of the Christians in Lebanon are against the Israeli occupation-- in any game of the sort.

[Question] They [Christians] stand against all forms of occupation and of foreign presence on their territories. Isn't it so?

[Answer] We believe that there is only one occupation, namely the Israeli occupation. The fraternal Arab presence on Lebanon's soil came within the Arab League resolutions and at the request of the Lebanese Government. We make a full distinction between this presence and the occupation. This doesn't mean that we cling to this presence at the expense of Lebanon's sovereignty. However, the matter of this presence can be resolved within the framework of fraternal dialogue and the common pan-Arab interest that joins Lebanon and the Arabs, especially the fraternal Syria. On this issue, we have found understanding from the Vatican, as well as eagerness for Lebanon's unity, rejection for its partition and concern over the danger we have pointed out. We hope that the Vatican will play a positive role at every level of this issue. Thus, our visit to West Europe with its three stops has sought, at this turning point, to present--and let us state this frankly--a secular and non-sectarian viewpoint that is committed at the pan-Arab level and that is hostile to the Israeli occupation.

[Question] Have you made your visit to Paris, Rome and the Vatican in your partisan capacity or as representative of the National Salvation Front?

[Answer] Yes, it is a visit we have made in the name of the SSNP and during which we have presented the SSNP's viewpoint, but within the bounds of our commitment to the National Salvation Front as a broad framework. We have been in constant contact with the Salvation Front leaders in Lausanne.

[Question] Why aren't you in Lausanne at present?

[Answer] Insofar as the National Salvation Front's structure is concerned, the front has a political leadership represented in ex-President Sulayman Franjiyah, the front chairman, in ex-Prime Minister Rashid Karami and in Walid Junblatt. This leadership is attending the Lausanne conference and no other party included in the front or in the front's National Council is attending.

[Question] Is there a distinction between your position as the SSNP and the position of the Salvation Front sides participating in the Lausanne conference?

[Answer] We are committed to action through the front. The National Salvation Front has a program to which we have committed ourselves and which is founded on the struggle against the 17 May accord and against sectarian hegemony. This struggle has been crowned with dropping the accord. The mere convocation of a national detente and national dialogue conference means ending the domination in the interest of national coalition, of political reform and of eliminating all the features of domination from the legislative decrees and partisan appointments. These are the broad lines that unite us as a front and we are fully committed to them. As for the issue of political reform, we are a party with aspirations emanating from our reformist principles and we will struggle for these aspirations democratically upon conclusion of the Lausanne conference which, we hope, will succeed in establishing a reconciliation charter that puts an end to the Lebanese bloodshed because we believe that the struggle for reform

should not be a condition for continuation of the war. We want the internal war to end, want the Lebanese internal wound to be dressed and want a democratic life to rise. Through this democratic life, each party can struggle for its objectives and principles. At the same time, after the martyrdom of nearly 100,000 Lebanese and after the destruction that has befallen Lebanon, we believe that the minimum that the Lausanne conference is supposed to achieve is not minimal reform but the achievement, at least, of some of the Lebanese people's aspirations for progress and for establishing their unity on firm foundations so that an upheaval may not occur every few years. This is why our dialogue with the allied parties, whether in the National Salvation Front or in Amal Movement, has been a dialogue in the direction of entrenching this reform. We believe that there is a positive indicator in the fact that the allied parties, i.e. the National Salvation Front and Amal Movement, are proposing the cancellation of political sectarianism instead of proposing the re-distribution of the sectarian shares. This is because if we want to enter the vicious sectarian circle on the basis of a sectarian census and on the basis of sectarian ratios, then the largest sect would be entitled to take over the privileges that have belonged so far to a certain sect. We believe that this cannot be the solution and believe that the solution should be democratic, meaning the abolition of political sectarianism and opening the door for competence and capability to take their place without any sectarian discrimination. Of course we may, as I have already pointed out, differ in our projection from the other parties by virtue of our party's concept that the sectarian problem is not confined to the political issue. In this regard, we want to stress that the Lebanese Front projects secularism in the "sectarian fight" with the other parties. If the opposition--and the structure of the opposition is Islamic in character--proposes the abolition of political sectarianism, the reply [by the Lebanese Front] is secularization, i.e. the issue of civil marriage, in an attempt to embarrass the Muslims. We, as a non-sectarian party, believe that the reform demands have taken on a sectarian flavour in this "struggle." This is why we are projecting a complete program. First, we support the abolition of political sectarianism. In this, we agree with the opposition. Second, we support voluntary civil marriages but don't support a civil marriage that abolishes religious marriages. We support observation of the religious rights and preservation of the religious marriage. But we also support legislation for voluntary civil marriages because thousands of Lebanese get civil marriages in Cyprus or Turkey. Why shouldn't they stay in Lebanon and why shouldn't there be somebody to perform their marriages, with the citizens given the option to have a religious marriage along with the civil marriage? We support free choice and do not support compulsion in anything. The third point is that we support a unified educational program because if the child is not raised patriotically and with a unified educational guidance, then this educational mosaic existing in Lebanon will give rise to divergent generations. Let us say frankly that the western concept of secularization is not an alternative to sectarianism because you must provide the positive, not negative, alternative.

[Question] Then your position toward comprehensive secularization is a strategic position? However, it is a position governed by certain circumstances and influences in the Lebanese arena and in the Arab arena?

[Answer] It is a strategic position. But as I have already said, we prefer not to give secularization the western concept. In fact, we must stress that religion is a fundamental part of our national heritage, and we mean religion with all its sects and not one religion to the exclusion of others. For example, the Eastern Church of Antioch is an important part of the church history generally and of the history of the eastern Christians in particular. Islam is a fundamental element in the concept and heritage of our people and of the Arab peoples. Therefore, we, as a secular and non-sectarian party, respect this spiritual heritage and the spiritual values it contains. But we want to end sectarian discrimination, end the sectarian loyalty that replaces national loyalty and end the national fragmentation that leads to conflicts and to civil wars. This is why we project society's bond, society's unity and national loyalty as a substitute for sectarian loyalty, along with full respect for the religious rites and beliefs and with emphasis on the spiritual values of religion. We demand the elimination of barriers on the basis of voluntary inter-sectarian civil marriages, without compulsion or coercion and without conflict with the religious concepts because there is no coercion in religion. This is a fundamental precept of Islam. Therefore, no coercion in religion means that there should be a choice in this regard.

[Question] Let us return to the issue of the Lebanese-Israeli accord. The accord has been cancelled but Israel continues to be present in the south and the Israeli occupation may continue for a long time. How do you view the solution to eliminate Israeli occupation?

[Answer] The solution we propose has been projected by the opposition since the 17 May accord. It was proposed in particular by the various national parties struggling against the occupation. This projection may seem unclassical and incompatible with the conventional political concepts. But peoples whose territories are occupied cannot allow themselves to be the captives of classical solutions. What is the alternative! This is how the Lebanese regime should have projected matters. Now, this regime has cancelled the accord. We said from the outset that the alternative is Lebanese national resistance to the occupation. Such resistance is the manifestation displayed by any people who want liberation. It is the manifestation of the French resistance to the Nazi occupation and of the European resistance movements to the Nazi occupation. It is the manifestation displayed by the peoples that have achieved their independence and liberation. It is an effective manifestation because the Israeli army can compensate for a tank or an aircraft from the U.S. plants but it cannot compensate for the Israeli soldiers [killed by resistance]. I believe that the drain which the Lebanese resistance has inflicted on the Israeli occupation exceeds the drain inflicted by any Arab war. In the previous Arab wars, any city occupied became a card in the occupation with which to bargain for the so-called security, i.e. the Israeli expansionist security. We say that withdrawal will take place. This is inevitable, regardless of how obstinate the enemy is and how long it delays the date. There will be partial withdrawals which will become comprehensive afterwards. This has been the source of our constant argument with the Lebanese regime. The issue is one of time and time is not in favor of the occupier. So why should we conclude with him contracts as long as he is compelled to evacuate?

[Question] Let us turn to a partial issue, namely the issue of the eviction that has taken place in the Shuf and Mount Lebanon. You are known to be a native of al-Shuf, from 'Aun Zhalta in particular. How do you view this situation?

[Answer] I will answer this question in full. I don't think that our party can support separation on a sectarian basis. This is a principled position. However, we should always look for the reasons, without justifying the consequences. The plan carried out by the Lebanese Forces, feeling strengthened by the Israeli occupation, under the allegation of seeking to protect the Christians was a very dangerous plan because it was characterized by the attempt to change al-Shuf and 'Alayh demographically. This is not our conclusion. Rather, we refer you to the articles and studies published in AL-'AMAL in 1982 and 1983 on restructuring Lebanon on the basis of new governorates that now constitute the "cantons" in the Lebanese Front's plan. The Lebanese Forces' plan was a suicidal plan, not only for the Christians, because this plan provoked the other sects to defend their existence by virtue of the fact that this presence was threatened with evacuation and annihilation. The Lebanese Forces thus created a phenomenon that acted against them, namely the phenomenon of sectarian oppression on their part against the other armed or militarized factions. Sects have their war law which is different from the law of the parties. What happened was a reaction to this suicidal policy. We, of course, have been greatly pained by the evacuation of Christians from Mount Lebanon and by the sectarian violations committed. I believe that all the patriots have been pained by this thing. We cannot support or encourage what has happened. But what happened has been a reaction. The party responsible for what happened is the initiator, and the initiator is the unjust one. We believe that Walid Junblatt is ultimately for restoring normal life to al-Shuf. He has declared this in Lausanne in the wake of his meetings with ex-President Sham'un. We believe that al-Shuf and all these areas have lived fundamentally with the traditions of common living, not to say coexistence. What is normal is for the evacuation to be repatriated. But until the refugees return, national reconciliation must be achieved.

[Question] Let us be clear. Haven't the "nationalists" perpetrated massacres in Lebanon?

[Answer] I believe that the general course has been established by the Phalanges Party from 1975 and until the present. Reactions are, of course, unjustifiable, except for the justification that they have come as reactions. We do not justify them in principle. But we must understand them and must hold the initiator responsible.

[Question] The question intended to ask whether you will conduct a self-criticism of most of the actions of the National Movement, one of whose mainstays you were from 1975 until the eve of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon?

[Answer] I believe that self-criticism was made by the leaders of the National Movement more than once. We have not engaged in such self-criticism, even though we have our view in this regard. Naturally, we don't say that the National Movement was infallible. We had a long list of mistakes. But there

is a difference between a mistake that occurs as a result of circumstances and a method, a philosophy or a general policy. The National Movement or the nationalist forces did not at all think of the course of sectarian massacres. They had absolutely no philosophy of sectarian evacuation or of arousing sectarian jingoism. These are exceptions that occurred as a result of reactions under certain circumstances. But the general course was a nationalist course. Numerous violations have been committed by this or that side throughout the 9-year war. We do not defend what is wrong and we can say that our party has been very harsh on this issue and has tried as hard as it can to be ideal, especially on the sectarian issue. By its nature and structure, our party is a secular nationalist party. But some elements of our party have committed mistakes. We are not saying that our party is infallible. Rather, we are speaking of the general course.

[Question] What is your opinion of the results and lessons emanating from the Lebanese events and does your party evaluate them from a special perspective?

[Answer] The events have produced lessons and conclusions that cannot be disregarded and the results of these events have been decisive and irrefutable:

First, it has been proven that the Israeli danger is not (confined) to Palestine and the Palestinians. This danger has stormed Lebanon and has negotiated with Lebanon for a normalization agreement that would transform Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate. Israel is not a limited identity. It is the plan for the greater Israel that threatens the entire area. This is precisely what Antun Sa'adah warned against as of 1938.

Second, it has been proven that the popular resistance to the Israeli occupation has been sharper than any weapon in any war. Consequently, a weapon fatal to the Zionist invasion has been discovered on the soil of Lebanon. This weapon is an alternative to every form of capitulation that has occurred to the minds of some Arab rulers and currents.

Third, it has been proven that Lebanon's relationship with Syria is a natural historical relationship that cannot be replaced by the relationship of the Zionist invasion.

Fourth, it has been proven that the path to national reconciliation is Damascus and that Damascus does not want to partition Lebanon and to strip away some parts of Lebanon, as some pessimists have rumored. The proof is that Damascus has exerted its utmost efforts for a national reconciliation that restores Lebanon's unity and preserves its independence and sovereignty. What Damascus wants is a fraternal Lebanon that coordinates with it instead of a Lebanon that is a hostile Israeli protectorate posing danger to Damascus' national security.

Fifth, it has been proven that the Israeli scheme is against Lebanese reconciliation and is determined to fragment and shatter Lebanon and to obstruct this reconciliation.

Sixth, it has been proven that for the Arab solution to succeed, it must coordinate with Damascus. The geographical and historical facts and the joint interests are stronger than any other fact.

Seventh, it has been proven that the sectarian plan can only reach a deadend. A sectarian rule plan has been tried and has aroused the wrath of the other sects, bringing about its own downfall. The war of armed sects against sectarian rule is justifiable within this context and within the context of self-defense and defense for survival. Sectarian interests do not build a homeland or a state. The 1943 sectarian settlement produced pitfalls but did not produce solutions. Since then, the sectarian settlements have been dividing Lebanon like a piece of cheese, not creating a state.

The logic of the downfall of sectarianism dictates that we search for the national, secular and progressive alternative--the alternative to sectarianism, not the alternative from sectarianism. This is what the enlightened leaderships of the sects themselves are now studying. This summary with its numerous provisions underlines the basis of our party's thinking, principles and general course.

We sum up the comprehensive conclusion in three phrases:

The fall of sectarianism, the fall of the wager on the foreigner and understanding Israel's comprehensive danger to the area and Syria's role as a national dimension of the struggle against this danger on the basis of the area's unity.

Lebanon's independence can be strengthened if re-formulated on the basis of these facts.

These are facts that constitute principles of faith for the progressive socialists.

[Question] Can the psychological chasm existing between the Lebanese as a result of the evacuation, the killing and the indiscriminate shelling be filled easily?

[Answer] We believe that if the politicians--and I say this conservatively--get reconciled, the people are good and common life is the basis. Common life is not founded on just spiritual traditions deep-rooted in our society. There is a fundamental issue that cannot be denied, namely the economic interest which is the living bond. Lebanon itself cannot survive economically if it does not interact with its environment. There is the transit trade and there is the daily interaction which constitutes a lifeline connecting Lebanon with its environment, reaching the Gulf through Syria. We know that 90 percent of the Lebanese economy consists of its exports to the Arab East. These are facts. So what would Lebanon's partition mean? It means a final suicide. This is why we believe that the plan to partition Lebanon is a plan that cannot survive economically. If the United States has been afflicted with Israel to support economically, it will not allow itself to be afflicted with another Israel. This is why these are illusions and why we believe that the Lebanese people are aware of their interest in restoring their unity. This awareness will overcome all the other problems.

SHI'ITE LEADER DEMANDS ABOLITION OF POLITICAL SECTARIANISM

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[Interview With Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, deputy chairman of Higher Shi'ite Islamic Council, by Ghassan Bayram: "We Will Resist Israel for 100 Years and Will Resist State If It Negotiates with Israel"]

[Text] Beirut--The interview with His Eminence Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, the deputy chairman of the Higher Shi'ite Islamic Council in Lebanon, lasted nearly 4 hours, not because the interview required all this long time but because whoever embarks with the religious leader of the Shi'ite Islamic sect in Lebanon on a discussion of the affairs and concerns of the Lebanese tribulation and of the position toward this tribulation really does forget time. This revered shaykh has been described by Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan as a "holy man" because of his gentle manner, his learning, his patriotism and his awareness of his religious and national duties. He is apprehensive about the unity of Lebanon and of the Lebanese and about the unity of the Muslims in Lebanon. This is why you always find him extremely careful and circumspect for fear that the polt against Lebanon may be implemented, inflicting on Lebanon the worst fragmentation and transforming it into a number of sectarian cantons, most of them turned into Israeli protectorates.

Since Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din raised the slogan of total civilian resistance to the Israeli occupation in South Lebanon, proceeding on this path, exhorting people and stirring in them every national and religious feeling, he has turned into the spiritual father of this southern uprising that is inflicting on the Israeli occupation army daily losses in lives and equipment.

Even though Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din prefers at times not to disclose what is in his heart regarding the internal Lebanese situation, especially the southern situation, when the issue is sensitive enough to further complicate the problem, we have been able to get from his eminence some clarifications, especially on the issue of the south. We started our interview with him with a question on the south and on the distance between Beirut and the south which has become long and remote. His eminence answered:

Yes, the distance between the south and Beirut and between the south and the other Lebanese provinces has become very long in terms of time and in geographic terms. This distance is intended to be close to Israel in terms of time and

in geographic terms. But from all our viewpoints, this distance is still very short and closer than it was in the past, contrary to what Israel, its beneficiaries in Lebanon and those preparing themselves to cooperate with Israel in the future are planning.

The future will inevitably expose the officials for their actions and their method of work which enabled the Israeli occupation to reach this condition and to try to separate the south from the rest of Lebanon. As for the length of the distance I have spoken of, it will grow longer. I don't want to create illusions in the mind of anybody. This distance will grow longer because Israel on the one hand and the method of political action adopted in Lebanon on the other hand will make this phase of the long distance between the south and the other Lebanese territories. As for the consequences, they are of two kinds:

The consequences sought by Israel, namely to separate the south, as a developing life [society], gradually from its natural environment and body, namely Lebanon, and link it as much as possible with the Israeli life cycle and to get the south and its inhabitants accustomed to this life pattern in preparation for the political structure which Israel is arranging for the south and for which some people aspire, i.e., to set up self-administration on the basis of cantons and partition. These are the consequences sought. We, on our part, are fighting this reality and fighting the attempts to separate the south from Lebanon. Regardless of what obstacles and restrictions Israel places on movement between the south and the other Lebanese territories, we will continue to open paths and to establish communication with all our might. Our path toward this is resistance--total civilian resistance and armed resistance whenever the circumstances permit from now and for 100 years to come. We will not deceive ourselves or anybody else with illusions. We will not permit Israel to settle in the south and will not permit any of its agents or any of those who are preparing themselves to take charge of the affairs of the south on Israel's behalf to reap the fruits of Israel's crime and their crime. We will not permit them to settle down. By the same token, we will not permit Lebanon in its entirety to settle down as long as Israel is in the south.

[Question] A few days ago you talked of an Israeli plan to carry out an operation for population separation and eviction from the south. Is this statement based on hearsay circulated in Lebanese political circles or do you possess documents and facts and can you discuss this issue in full detail?

[Answer] Yes, I am afraid that something of the sort will happen. This fear is based on several things. First, it is based on the documents of the World Zionist Movement and on this movement's visualization of what they call the promised land. South Lebanon (the Galilee area in their terminology) is a part of the promised land.

This is confirmed by the Basle conference documents and by the peace conference which was held in the wake of World War I and one of whose consequences was the partition of the area in accordance with the Sykes-Picot agreements in which the Zionist Movement tried to re-draw the map of Palestine's borders and to annex to Palestine the south up to al-Litani River.

There are also the reports that have begun to spread recently, considering that the long-range objectives of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 were evident from the outset.

There is the Greater Israel plan announced by Shamir when he was entrusted with the Israeli premiership and by the Israeli minister of finance who entered the cabinet in the final reshuffle of Begin's cabinet. There are, finally, the statements made by Israeli officials in the past 3 weeks about their intention to introduce demographic changes into the south's population structure. Since entering Lebanon, Israel has resorted to sectarian separation to create "pure" zones, as they say, in which it deals with sects, and to reaffirm the theory on which Israel itself was built as a "pure" Jewish state that believes that the religious and sectarian aspect is the basis of the social structure of any political society.

All these points make us believe that Israel is seeking this objective. We believe that it seeks to create conditions of sectarian sedition between the Muslims and the Christians in the south and between the Shi'ites, the Sunna and the Druze in order to create hostilities within every sect and to encourage every sect to seek its own protection, only to find that there is no protector other than Israel. Thus, the protector Israel rises, colonizes these sects and achieves its ambitions under a humanitarian pretext, namely protecting the minorities--protecting the Shi'ites, protecting the Christians and protecting the Druze, as it has done in its dealings with some Christians throughout the past years. We know what this situation has produced. This is why we say that one of the justifications Israel used to invade Lebanon was the justification of protecting the Christians. The result is what the Christians have suffered in Mount Lebanon and in al-Shuf area where Israel created the conditions for their annihilation, eviction and the like. I add that there are international circles which believe in this visualization I am telling you about.

[Question] According to the information at your disposal, what form will this population separation take? Will it take the form of evicting the Shi'ites from the south and replacing them by another sect? How will this be implemented on the ground?

[Answer] What I fear is that Israel may create ambitions [among certain sects] to replace part of the southern Shi'ites in the border strip. Israel seeks to create along its borders an area that is almost totally empty of population to form an easy-to-control buffer zone. With this approach, Israel will create constraints on the way of life that will compel the population to emigrate. It may even create security conditions [that force them to emigrate].

[Question] With our full appreciation for the heroic action carried out by the southerners against the Israeli occupation, do you think that this action is enough to oust a state such as Israel from the south, considering its historical ambitions?

[Answer] We do not claim that our resistance will oust Israel from the south. I am a realist. However, this resistance will certainly make Israel's presence a very costly undertaking for Israeli society and the Israeli economy. This

resistance will definitely threaten numerous systems and interests in Lebanon and in the area and will motivate an international force to move in this direction. I cannot depend on any free-of-charge international endeavor. International efforts emanate from the interests of the major powers and are often made at the expense of the powerless groups and peoples. This is why it is not in the interest of these groups and peoples to expect free friendship, free liberation, free independence and free economic growth. This is why I also say we resist and wait for nobody [to come and help us]. The Middle East issue emerged in the wake of the 1967 defeat specifically. What have the international efforts and negotiations, the United Nations, the Security Council resolutions, the Islamic Conference and the nonaligned movement produced? What have all these produced? They have further entrenched Israeli life, society and state in the occupied Arab territories. They have produced further Arab retreat insofar as the cause is concerned and produced the constant search for humiliating settlements that are unfair to the Arab right and the Muslims' right. All this has happened because the logic of total popular resistance was not adopted from the outset and because what was adopted has been reliance on the United States, Russia and Western Europe. The outcome is what we see now. Israel rejects even Reagan's plan. Israel has rejected the Fez plan which is capitulationist in content and essence. Israel wants everything and is not willing to give anybody anything. From the time it was founded on the soil of Palestine and up to the present, Israel has been playing the game of time with the Arabs and the Muslims. It encourages the United States, Russia and Western Europe to create hopes which the Arabs pursue and which become the subject of negotiation for months and years. When these hopes go bankrupt and the Arabs realize that they have never been serious, Israel creates for them a new game in order that it may gain more time with which to devour its preys. Review the dossier of the Middle East issue, especially since 1967. I don't know if the Rogers initiative in the days of President 'Abd al-Nasir was the first initiative. I only know that throughout 17 years, there has been nothing other than more time-consuming initiatives that have produced no result whatsoever.

[Question] Don't you think that elementary requirements are supposed to be made available to the resistance in the south, including the presence of a Lebanese state and of an Arab strategy or Arab support, in order that this resistance may produce fruits and may make Israel actually feel that its presence is very costly? As long as these givens are not present, what is your visualization of the situation?

[Answer] The resistance will continue and will grow, with or without the State of Lebanon and with or without an Arab strategy. Insofar as the State of Lebanon is concerned, we do not want to deceive ourselves. We are seeking to establish the State of Lebanon, but on the basis we have defined, namely the complete and total abolition of political sectarianism even in the main three government posts. We will not agree to any settlement based on a sectarian vision of the system in Lebanon. We will oppose anything different from this [non-sectarian] system. We will not oppose it with the force of arms but will resort to the political course of opposition. This is insofar as the first part of the question is concerned. However, if the State of Lebanon is seeking an alternative agreement with Israel and he who seeks agreement with Israel does not think of fighting and resisting Israel. We will not agree to

any alternative agreement to the ill-fated [17 May] accord. We believe that what regulates Lebanon's relations with Israel is the truce agreement and there is absolutely no call for any other agreement. What we want of the state, regardless of the basis on which it is established, is not to oppose the resistance line because, frankly, if the state wants to oppose the resistance line, then we will strike the state and will not permit anybody to oppose the resistance line. As for expecting an Arab strategy, this is an illusion that has lost all the elements of deception, meaning that it is an illusion that can no longer deceive us. We will not at all wait for an Arab strategy to develop and we will not cease our action until this strategy materializes. Should such a strategy materialize, we will serve it and will be a part of it.

[Question] What is the lesson we can learn from the resistance in the occupied West Bank now that this resistance has reached its present condition?

[Answer] Let me take this opportunity to address a greeting of love and respect for every man, woman and child among our brothers in the West Bank. But there has been a fundamental mistake in the structure of the resistance that has taken place there. This resistance has relied on the purely political course and on the structure of the PLO and of the PLO factions which have not permitted this resistance to be comprehensive resistance. The West Bank resistance has also failed to rely on comprehensive civilian resistance, i.e., disobeying the Israeli orders on everything. This resistance wanted to fight and, at the same time, to build a normal life with the Israelis. I believe that the resistance's connection with organizational structures, namely the PLO factions, has allowed this resistance to spread only on a limited scale and has not allowed it to become a comprehensive popular condition. Let us start with the ban on dealings with Israel. This ban is implemented on a political basis and not on an Islamic religious, ideological basis. These are elements of weakness. If total civilian resistance were implemented in the West Bank, it would have made it impossible to build settlements and would have made stable life in such settlements impossible, not with violence. When a settlement is built, 10,000 Palestinians can march peacefully, cordon off the settlement and prevent entry into and departure from the settlement, unless over their bodies. In any case, the West Bank people may have their circumstances and their excuses. They have gone through three wars that have crushed and destroyed them and a period of time is perhaps needed before such a popular condition develops there. My advice to the brother resistance fighters in the West Bank is to transform the resistance into comprehensive popular resistance, founding this resistance not on a political ideology in the partisan sense but on an Islamic and Christian religious ideology, if possible, because the ideological activity [basis] for resisting Israel is present in both Islamic doctrine and Christian doctrine. But this resistance must be, of course, established on true national unity and must surpass all political symbols. It is essential that these symbols rely on the popular condition and emanate from the mosques, the churches, the schools and the clubs. It is only then that a qualitative change will occur. But to distract the people by creating formulas of coexistence with Israel in the Israeli settlements is something that I do not understand and for which I see no productive scope or end. All this does is to give Israel more time. Under the canopy of this type of resistance, Israel has been able to build more settlements. When Israel

permits itself to set up organizations such Gush Emunim and when the world condones its formation of such organizations, then aren't these [West Bank] people who have lived on the land for thousands of years allowed to resist? I want to say one thing: Let the Arabs and the Muslims understand that Israel is not as mythically strong as they believe and that it does not enjoy any mysterious protection from God or from the people. Israel consists of people and it knows that it is a usurper and suffers from the weakness of the usurper and weakness of the soul. It is easy to resist Israel.

[Question] After the Lausanne conference, you faulted the interlocuters for their failure to mention in their statement, and even in the resolutions they agree upon, anything pertaining to the issue of the south.

[Answer] (Shaykh Shams-al-Din interrupting) and we have also faulted them for failing to mention the issue of the evacuees and of the kidnapped.

[Question] But it was mentioned on the sidelines of the conference and then in a statement made by President Amin al-Jumayyil that the state will, on its part, make security arrangements that will reassure Israel of Galilee's security and compel it to withdraw from the south. Do you believe that these security arrangements about which the president of the republic and political leaders such as Walid Junblatt have talked are likely to liberate the south?

[Answer] As I have already noted, we do not approve the resumption of any negotiations with Israel to establish security arrangements. We consider the 1949 truce agreement adequate for regulating the relations between Israel and Lebanon. We have nothing to do with what the president of the republic has announced. We did not, to start with, approve the makeup of the Geneva conference or of the Lausanne conference and we have disavowed this conference and all its results because it contains numerous gaps and because we consider it non-productive, whether in terms of the Lebanese issue or of Israel's occupation of Lebanon.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] There is no need to dwell on the causes. The results produced are enough. What have the Geneva meetings and the Lausanne round of talks produced, other than more killing, more destruction and more carnage? We fear that this conference will lead to frustrating the country's political aspirations and frustrating the powerless among the Lebanese, will obstruct the political aspirations for fundamental reforms on the one hand and will restructure the country on the basis of partition, turning it into cantons or something similar. Innocent names may be given to this organization condition whose essence is partition, and we will fight partition. As for the talk that the Lausanne conference has decided to hold new consultations with Israel for liberating the south and for establishing new security arrangements, we do not approve of this talk because Israel wants negotiations from which it will emerge triumphant, especially if we rely on the Americans. We have seen how the Americans have deceived us, how they have lied and how they have betrayed Lebanon and the interest of the Lebanese people in favor of Israel's interest. We do not trust the Americans or their policy, unless it is proven to us with irrefutable material proof that they are working for the interest of Lebanon and of the Arabs.

[Question] What is the alternative formula to the Lausanne conference since you do not consider this conference the proper instrument for this problem?

[Answer] The alternative formula is to elect a new constituent assembly that declares abolition of the constitution and that drafts a new constitution based on numerical democracy and on the total abolition of sectarianism in the country. Let us take the constitution of the current fifth French Republic and implement it in Lebanon.

[Question] Without the need for negotiations?

[Answer] Negotiations between whom and whom?

[Question] Negotiations between the various Lebanese parties.

[Answer] In our latest press conference, we proposed that a higher Lebanese commission be formed to deal with the so-called problem of fear among the Christians and to establish all the constitutional guarantees and any international and Arab guarantees desired and sought to insure the safety and prosperity of the Christian presence in Lebanon, but not on the basis of the political domination that is in actual existence and whose continuation is desired.

[Question] Despite what has happened in the southern suburb and despite the enormity of the destruction inflicted on this suburb, there is an opinion that says that what is more significant than the destruction are the circumstances and the background that led to the explosion of the situation in the suburb and especially in West Beirut and in terms of the situation developing there. Can you focus the searchlights on these circumstances and on the U.S. role in this issue?

[Answer] I believe that it is not time yet to raise the difficult questions concerning the scenario leading to the carnage and the dreadful destruction inflicted on the suburb. There are numerous suspicious, question and signs pointing to the role of the United States and U.S. intelligence in what has happened in the suburb. Gradually, these questions will find all their answers. The obvious side responsible for what has been inflicted on the suburb is the regime. As for the interaction of the conditions and for the roles and motives, I believe that it is not time yet to raise questions in this regard and to look for answers that may be easy. Only the Americans have benefited from the destruction of the suburb.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] I have said that it is not time to raise questions. As for the change occurring in the opposition's political position, it has not emanated from the destruction of the suburb but from the change in West Beirut's situation. The suburb has been beyond the state's control since August 1983 and no fundamental changes have occurred. What brought about the fundamental change has been the departure of Beirut from the sphere of the state control. What we are focusing on at present insofar as the suburb is concerned is the

eviction and destruction and the question of how to rebuild. As for the people whose children have been killed and whose property has been destroyed and confiscated, they ask: Why has this happened and what is the political compensation to be collected in return for what has happened? Naturally, I have not caused the destruction of the suburb. As for the question concerning political compensation, for us this compensation is, as you know, the fundamental change of the entire system--a change for which we have been working and which is founded on eliminating all the mainstays of the 1943 charter and of establishing the plan for the rule of the majority in Lebanon.

[Question] There is a question that preoccupies the mind of the Muslim man-in-the-street and around which there is a lot of clamor. In the wake of the Socialist Party's operation against al-Murabitun Movement, sectarian sensitivities have been aroused at a time when Israeli and non-Israeli circles are working to sow sedition between the Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims. Don't you think that the situation on the ground in West Beirut at present can be exploited to touch off this sedition? How can this situation be dealt with?

[Answer] It is my duty to be apprehensive and to warn, meaning that it is my duty to act. Like any official responsible for the Islamic condition particularly, for the unity of the Muslims which is the dearest cause in my life and for the unity of the Muslim and Christian Lebanese which is one of the biggest causes in life, I am somewhat apprehensive. It is my duty to take all the precautions and to secure all the guarantees to prevent that which we do not want from happening, namely to prevent the success of Israel, of the imperialist forces, of the shortsighted and of those with poor souls by not allowing their plans and mistakes to lead to the creation of sectarian sedition among the Muslims. Insofar as this issue is concerned, I am very proud and I thank God, may He be praised, that the Muslims have faced these schemes with excellent awareness and have foiled the worst of what we had feared. I especially note with pride and praise Beirut's vigilance. Sunni Beirut has been great, patient and Islamic and has absorbed numerous gaps with a high spirit of responsibility and vigilance. Naturally, the attempts to sow sedition will continue. But with God's help, we will continue to confront and foil them, depending on God and on the vigilance of the Muslims. On this occasion, I would like to state frankly that Beirut is entitled to have its personality and its particular quality in the political sphere and in other spheres. Beirut, which has maintained its personality, can serve Lebanon and serve the unity of the Muslims much more if it is not neglected and if this particular quality is tended. I greatly hope that all will understand this fact and act accordingly. The recent, and regrettable, incident was terrible and shocked us greatly. The truth is that what has happened between the Progressive Socialist Party and al-Murabitun Movement has motivated all of us to unite strongly. I have discussed this issue profoundly and in all its dimensions with His Eminence Shaykh Hasan Khalid, the mufti of the republic, I believe that God, may He be praised, has enabled us to contain and overcome this situation and we are now in the phase of surpassing it. But if it were not for the success God has given us and for the vigilance and sense of responsibility enjoyed by all the parties involved, this [overcoming of the incident] would not have been possible.

[Question] Given this Lebanese situation which suffers from political and sectarian fragmentation, from chaos and from lost security, what do you expect for the new role of Syria in Lebanon now that the regime has abolished the 17 May accord and has come to consider the Syrian option a key to solving the Lebanese problem?

[Answer] There are some reinforcing and constant facts in the life of societies and people because they are existing facts. In Lebanon, there is a constant, lasting and benevolent fact, namely that Syria is a Lebanese reality. We have always voiced this fact. Lebanon is a Syrian reality also. We cannot imagine Syria without Lebanon or Lebanon without Syria insofar as political affairs, public life, the economy and the regional role are concerned. Whenever the various Lebanese administrations disregarded this reality, crises and catastrophes were brought upon Lebanon's head, not because Syria wants to interfere in Lebanon but always because Syria is a Lebanese reality by nature, by geography, by history, by geographic position and by the area's problems which wrap Lebanon and Syria more strongly together than they wrap any other two countries in the area. I expect, and hope, that every Lebanese administration will understand this reality, the reality that Syria is present in Lebanon--present by a geographic decision and by the reality of the people before being present by a political or an economic decision. I also expect and hope that Syria will recall the fact that Lebanon is a reality and an existing entity distinguished by a policy that makes the conditions for dealing with its special conditions. Lebanon is a diverse country. It contains Christians and Muslims that are distinguished by a certain pattern of life, a certain pattern of economy and a certain pattern of cultural openness and of international communications. This is a reality and Lebanon must be treated on the basis of the components of this reality. Every time these components were disregarded, they created numerous crises for Syria, such as the negotiations with Israel and the 17 May accord which was likely to be ratified. It was natural for what has happened to happen, namely for Syria to oppose the accord and to rely in its action not on this or that party or this or that organization. I would like to point out that Syria relied on the will of the Lebanese to reject this accord, which was what the parties, organizations and so forth then did. The abolition of the accord came as a result of the Islamic popular movement in Lebanon and of the steadfast and firm Syrian position. The abolition of the accord has corrected the Lebanese background, [making it possible] to conclude a robust, healthy and sound Syrian-Lebanese treaty. Now Syria has to deal also with Lebanon in this phase according to the characteristics that distinguish Lebanon and allow it to be treated in accordance with the components of which it consists. We are, of course, afraid that the 1943 charter will continue in a revised and compounded form. We reject this charter, as I have already pointed out, and insist on changing the system through the complete abolition of this sectarian pattern on which it is established because the government must be founded on a fair basis. The Lebanese shoulder equal duties but do not enjoy equal rights. The other central point is that we fear that Lebanon will be restructured on the basis of a confederacy of sects and that sectarian cantons will be established. One of the responsibilities of this phase which we as Lebanese and Syria have to achieve in Lebanon is to move toward these two objectives: reform the system and unify Lebanon. I am not talking of Israel's occupation because it is axiomatic that the two objectives together mean ending the Israeli occupation on the basis of Security Council resolutions 508 and 509 and restoring the situation existing immediately prior to Israel's aggressions of 1983, considering that the only thing regulating the relations between Lebanon and Israel is the 1949 truce agreement.

LETTER FROM WARDAK RECOUNTS RESISTANCE DILEMMA

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French Mar-Apr 1984 p 6

[Article by Amin Wardak: "A Letter From Wardak"]

[Text] On 5 December [Resistance] Commander Amin of Wardak Province sent a letter to the French press on the occasion of a new Afghan Resistance stamp being issued. It is that letter which we are publishing here. Commander Amin is well known in France, for he speaks French and has stayed several times in our country. In his region of Afghanistan he has started up a major program for providing children with schooling.

"For the Afghan people the end of this year 1983, which is the fourth anniversary of the Soviet intervention and occupation of our country, is full of sorrow and tears but also full of hope.

Sorrow and tears for the hundreds of thousands of innocent victims whose dignity, freedom, and Islamic faith have been barbarously attacked. Sorrow and tears for all the wounded, disabled and tortured who beg for justice. Sorrow and tears for our sisters, our brothers, our children, and our parents, numbering at least 3 million, who have gone into exile to stop being battered by the downpour of fire and steel.

Imagine for a moment the amount of suffering that those peasant folk had to undergo before deciding to abandon their ancestral lands and homes. For the battles, the bombings, the massacres you know about through your country's media are only a tiny fraction of those personally experienced on a daily basis by the Afghan people.

But it is also full of hope, for while certain 'experts' foresaw and figured that our resistance would be crushed during 1980, we are still resisting, for simple and sincere reasons which are as strong as is totalitarian ideology or Soviet imperialism: the Afghan resistance is the resistance put up by an entire people against an invader. We love our freedom just as you love your wives and children; we love our culture and our faith just as you love your parents. We love our children, our wives, and our parents just as you love yours, for Afghans can say today, just as you said in the dark moments of your history, 'Do you hear those savage soldiers in our countryside--they come among us and slaughter our sons and comrades.' [This quotation is a slightly modified form of part of "La Marseillaise," the French national anthem]

/But unless you make common cause with us our resistance movement will be no more capable of prevailing than was your resistance movement in Europe in World War II/[in boldface].

In fact, two of the requirements necessary for our liberation are in your hands.

The first is to give us the arms needed to fight the most powerful army in the world. We have extremely urgent need of anti-tank weapons, light artillery, anti-air weaponry, and means of radio communication.

In addition, the condemnations of and protests unanimously raised against the Soviet act of aggression must not only be renewed but must be increased. Along these lines, the best way you have to promote the return of peace to Afghanistan is for your governments and nations to finally recognize the Afghan Resistance as being the expression of the Afghan people and hence necessarily a party to any political negotiation.

I am writing these words to you from the heart of Afghanistan where my province, Wardak, is located. These are words and expressions of the hope we place in you and which we send to you via our postal service. Our letters and stamps are a symbolic and concrete demonstration of our legitimacy and the effective sovereignty exercised by our resistance movement in Wardak, as is also the case in all other provinces in Afghanistan. The stamp appearing on this envelope is the most recent one which we just issued on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the invasion of our country by the Soviet troops. It shows a 'mujahid,' which is to say a 'freedom fighter,' in whom every free man can recognize himself.

To conclude, I would like to say that the Afghan resistance fighters who are battling the Red Army in order to liberate their country continue today to struggle more than ever for their freedom, their faith, and their independence, and they will continue to do so until they spill their last drop of blood. They want to say to you that this war they have put up with every day for 4 years, alone, is a war of all free men.

We will win if men, nations, and governments do not abandon us and if they help us."

DUTCH JOURNALISTS SPEND NINE WEEKS IN LOWGAR

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French Mar-Apr 1984 pp 10-12

[Article by Hanneke Kouwenberg and Joris Versteeg: "Nine Weeks With the Lowgar Resistance Fighters"]

[Text] Lowgar is the region directly south of Kabul where Doctor Augoyard was working when he was kidnapped by the Soviet Air Force (see LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN, No 15). Very hard hit by reprisal operations, the resistance movement in that region has remained active. Here is the report of two Dutch journalists who spent 9 weeks there in the fall of 1983. They describe simultaneously the especially difficult and precarious living conditions of the people and the constantly renewed activity of the resistance fighters.

A trip to Afghanistan these days is something strangely like both a tourist adventure and a descent into hell. In fact, apart from the sporadic attacks by Soviet helicopters, which fly over the base areas and the main roads and which raze villages in reprisal for ambushes, and apart from the isolated big offensives, the country can seem quite safe. The beauty of the landscape and the traditional hospitality of the Afghans also contribute to that impression. However, the war is very real and it is scarcely possible to forget it. How many sunny and peaceful days have in fact come abruptly to an end with a bloody surprise attack. How can one forget all the sufferings of those men with a thousand different faces whose only common reference point seems to be Islam, and who are putting up resistance, with makeshift resources and without benefiting from the cement of unity, against omnipresent occupying forces.

"Today most of my village's 500 families are in Pakistan, Kabul, or somewhere else. Only 30 of them have remained. Practically everything has disappeared from here. The animals have been slaughtered, old men and children killed with knives, houses looted and wrecked. The Soviets have taken everything

from us. My son is injured. Six persons in my family have died martyrs." This was confided by the visibly worried [resistance] Commander Khan Jan of the village of Muhammad Agha, which is located in Lowgar Province south of Kabul. He wanted us to follow him home so that he could continue his account. His house consisted of four walls threatening to collapse and had no windows. The village, like the town of Istalef, is in the strategic and highly dangerous area within a 30-kilometer radius of the Afghan capital.

1983 was one of the most difficult years for Lowgar since the beginning of the war. The mujahidin have increased the number of their attacks on military convoys going through the "gateway" linking Kabul with Gardez to the south, and Soviet reprisals have been more terrible than ever.

In Muhammad Agha's region 30 to 40 percent of the houses have been destroyed by repeated bombings and rocket and mortar firings. At the same time the Soviets and the equally fearsome [Afghan] government forces have carried out searches in the villages on an almost weekly basis. During one of those searches on 19 September this year, four men in Zaidabad had their throats cut while inside their houses. Their bodies were collected in the center of the village and then burned.

During another operation of the same kind on 5 November in Kutab Khel, one of the village elders was shot down in the mosque. He had refused to give money to some Soviet soldiers. On the same occasion, two other old people were killed with bayonets.

All the villagers accuse the Soviets of looting. "They take everything--food, watches, radios, chickens, money," complained one old woman. "They also ask us for hashish." Her daughter showed the bruises she had on her hips. "They beat me with a rifle butt," she asserted. "They tore my jewels from my nose and ears in a rough manner. When the Soviets come here they behave in such a way with the women and girls that I'm ashamed to tell you about it."

Her 10 year-old son was also beaten and the Soviet soldiers offered him money to tell where his father was. The little 5 year-old girl in the same family was punched in the face and lost three teeth. They finally said that their father had left for Kabul. Two other events particularly outraged the people living in the valley. They took place in the village of Kolangar. On 17 September, some Soviet soldiers and Afghan government troops entered the village and seized five children. Holding them in their arms, they pointed their Kalakov (AK-74) rifles at their heads and showed the children to the villagers. "Give us money," the soldiers then shouted. "We don't have any," the crowd answered. The five children were executed. On 22 October, two other young children were killed with knives in that same operation.

Fourteen Bombs For a Single Village

After a very hot summer in Lowgar, the elders requested in August a temporary truce which was needed for harvesting in the valley.

The resistance commanders agreed to that step, and the truce was going to allow military convoys to pass through. The only condition was that the elders were to meet with only Soviet negotiators. The same terms had been previously set by Commander Massoud in the Panjshir Valley for negotiating his truce. But when the various parties were face to face for discussions, a Soviet was taken prisoner and executed by the Lowgar Resistance. This incident made any agreement impossible. At the end of August the Soviets started to bomb the valley again, resulting in veritable slaughter in the civilian population.

The number of victims and probable exiles just kept growing. We ourselves came under fire from a number of bombings by airplanes, helicopters and BM-21 rocket launchers based at Pul I Alam, the main Soviet base in Lowgar. On one sortie two airplanes dropped 14 125-kilo bombs on the same village. Most people were able to get to shelter, but a little girl tending livestock in the fields was killed. The main targets of the bombings are the houses of the mujahidin, but a number of bombs fall at random.

Destroyed Villages and Roads, Mined Countryside

Today one can see in each village a flag put up in front of the graves of the "Shahid" (the martyrs of the holy war) where women in tears come to pray.

"My son lies here," sobbed one woman. "He was killed last month during a bomb attack."

During the repeated searches and lootings which have recently taken place, there have also been 25 persons killed--mainly old people, women, and children. These actions are apparently tolerated, and they reveal the prevailing state of mind within the ranks of the Red Army and among the Kabul soldiers. In fact, that tolerance should make it possible to fight the high level of desertions recorded among them.

After the breakdown in the negotiations anticipated by the Resistance, the mujahidin resumed setting ambushes for trucks coming from Kabul. In spite of their air cover, the trucks are still highly vulnerable.

"Muhammad Agha is the place one passes through between Kabul and the provinces of Lowgar and Paktia. At that location we stop the Soviet convoys whenever we can," stated Faruq Mansur Ahmadzai, one of the luckier commanders in the region.

state of affairs. The mujahidin often assert, "The Russians are not believers. They are afraid of death, we aren't, and that is our main weapon. We will continue to fight and our sons will after us. Even if few are destined to survive. We are Muslims, and for us this war is a holy war. According to the Koran, we are required to fight the Soviets and their allies. If one of us dies he is a martyr and he goes straight to paradise. That is a very great honor. For the Soviets there is nothing after death. So they are afraid to die. We aren't, and that is why we will keep on to the end, always. We will never agree to infidels such as they remaining in Afghanistan."

In the course of our stay we witnessed one attack. The alert was given at 7 am, when some tanks left the military post located on the other side of Muhammad Agha. A tank parked on the road half-way from the post and had its gun pointed at the villages. Other tanks were maneuvering. Then the soldiers got out and marched toward the village. Thirty minutes later shots rang out. A mortar shelled the villages from the military post, painted white and situated on the other side of the road. The top floor of the house from which we were observing the tanks was shaken by the shooting.

At noon a convoy coming from Kabul passed at great speed. About 40 trucks, some fuel trucks, and a few armored cars were surrounded by tanks. Two MI-24 helicopters were flying over the convoy.

A few mujahidin from our village ran onto the main road to carry out a spontaneous attack, but they had no success. After a lively exchange of gunfire which lasted about 30 minutes without any casualties being picked up on either side, the soldiers returned to their tanks and went back up the hill on the road leading to Kabul. The operation had lasted 5 hours. That afternoon we visited some houses which had been looted. The women were in despair: "Where can we go? We don't have any money or clothes. Our children don't have anything to eat. Without money we can't go to Pakistan. There are only poor people left here." But we also met women who did not want to leave. "We don't want to go to Pakistan. We are staying here to take care of the mujahidin. That is our way of fighting."

The Gloomy Winter

Resentment vis-a-vis the West is growing nowadays within the Afghan population. One often hears the following: "You who live in America or in Europe are free. Here the Soviets come into our villages, loot, and kill. We don't have any weapons with which to defend ourselves. The West has fallen asleep."

In fact the war, which is already terrible in itself, has also worsened the economic situation.

During ambushes and counterattacks carried out last autumn while the Soviets were doing search operations, Ahmadzai destroyed at least 50 military trucks and several armored troop transports, also recovering ammunition, gasoline, and provisions.

At Pul-e Qandari on 9 October he carried out his most successful attack. After the onslaught, 200 meters of asphalt along the road had melted and turned from grey to black, and on either side of the road there was nothing left but 34 trucks and 1 troop transport all burned up and pitted from the impact of bullets.

In a speech President Babrak Karmal delivered last July before the central committee of the party, he stressed the need to ensure that convoys were protected. But his words didn't change a thing. Mansur's men, as well as others, had over the previous 5 years improved their techniques for carrying out operations. "For ambushes we now take a Soviet Daschaka heavy machine gun to fight the helicopters," stated Mansur. "We strike and we change position rapidly in order to limit losses." We were on a road the surface of which was riddled with holes, created by mine explosions and rocket fire. The ground was littered with spent Russian cartridges.

However, a mujahid asserted, "After 1 pm the road is ours. For the soldiers want to be back in their garrison before nighttime. But we have to watch out because the 'Shuravi' (which is what the Afghans call the Soviets) have planted mines on the shoulders of the road."

Moreover, nearly all the houses alongside the road have been destroyed in order to prevent ambushes. Thus, the village of Deh Nao has been completely destroyed and booby-trapped. The irrigated fields and the surrounding countryside are covered in thistle.

The Number One Weapon of the Mujahidin: Faith

The Resistance in Lowgar, contrary to that in Panjshir, is lacking in unity. Most of the groups based in Peshawar have, in effect, their "clients" in Lowgar. However, though serious rivalries gave rise to several incidents last year among the resistance fighters, cooperation seems to be improved nowadays. "Now the people in Lowgar don't pay any more attention to the leaders who are in Peshawar," stated Commander Gul Muhammad. When the Russians have to be fought, everyone joins together and closes ranks.

In spite of the harsh reprisals that the mujahidin have suffered at the hands of the Soviets, and in spite of their lack of anti-air weapons, their morale actually seems fairly good. And their faith is not unrelated to that de facto

A survey published by the Peshawar Afghan Information Center and carried out by Dr Azam Gol, who now lives in Pakistan, reports a 54 percent drop in wheat production in Lowgar since the communists came to power in 1978. The national average isn't much better. Therefore, with Soviet pressure being increased, the future looks pretty dismal. Winter will be very difficult yet this year in Afghanistan.

9631

CSO: 4619/37

KURDISH LEADER: 'UNITED STATES STAKES ON KHOMEYNI'

Paris HUMANITE DIMANCHE in French 16 Dec 83 p 6

[Interview with A. Qasemlu, director of the PDKI [Democratic Party of Iranian Kordistan], by Dominique Bari; date and place not specified]

[Text] The Kurds, the Mojahedin, the communists, democrats of all political views are hunted down by the Iranian regime. Nearly 5 years after the revolution of February 1979, the dictatorship has swept away all hope. Abdul Rahman Qasemlu, secretary-general of the Democratic Party of Kurdish Iran (PDKI) summed up the situation for L'HUMANITE DIMANCHE of the tragic evolution of the Iranian Republic.

"We still consider that the revolution that we have accomplished in our country is a great revolution, which has turned upside down not only Iran but the Near Eastern region as well. Unfortunately, since all the democratic organizations were suppressed in the time of the Shah, the clergy and the Ayatollah Khomeyni have been able to establish their authority. The clergy had personnel and money and were supported by an immense majority of the Iranians. It was very difficult to swim against such a current.

"As Kurds, we reasserted our autonomy within the framework of the Iranian Republic. We demanded it several times of Khomeyni, who refused it. Very soon confrontations occurred, interrupted by 6 months of negotiations which were without result. Then war again in Kordistan to the present day. An extremely harsh war waged against the Kurdish civilians, with a repression exceeding what we had known in the time of the Shah. Nevertheless, as a Kurd and a democrat I affirm that today monarchy in Iran has been laid to rest by history and by the revolution. The Iranian people will never again accept a monarchy, even a constitutional monarchy.

[Answer] What is sought by an Iranian opposition party that stakes its hopes on the return to power in Tehran of the son of the former dictator. It is claimed that Islamic regime is on the way to stabilization. What do you think?

[Answer] It is the United States that is spreading the notion of the consolidation of the regime. Actually, nobody believes in it, and everybody is thinking of what is to come after Khomeyni and of the different alternatives.

Especially the Americans, because they consider this region "vital to their interests."

[Question] What are the forces in Iran being called upon to play a role after the disappearance of Khomeyni?

[Answer] To impose a regime of its choice in a country, the United States most of the time has recourse to the army. At present the army is paralyzed in Iran. The hundreds of officers trained in the United States in the time of the Shah have fled or have been imprisoned or executed. Those that remain have been taken over by "the guardians of the revolution," the Pasdarans, who constitute a real force within the regime. Well organized, they possess heavy weapons, control the army and the police, and number more than 100,000. Led by Mohsen Reza'i, the Pasdarans are sought after by the different factions of the Islamic power. The United States itself attempts to conciliate their leaders.

[Question] Which comes down to saying that there still exists a struggle for power in Iran?

[Answer] Yes, there are still two principal opposing factions. The first is made up of personalities that have promised the disinherited a certain number of social reforms. They are incapable today of making good on their promises.

The second faction is made up of the fundamentalists, who, on the basis of the Koran, defend private property, reject all reforms, and enjoy the support of the bourgeoisie linked to foreign capital. It is this faction that is winning and is favoring close relations with the United States by turning the attention of Iranian public opinion toward other "enemies": the USSR and France, for example.

[Question] In fact, Washington is preparing its own alternative.

[Answer] On the economic plane, the ground is prepared, on the political plane there are still obstacles. American imperialism is still just as much detested among the people. That is what frightens Washington, which still dreads the time after Khomeyni, while its allies, both inside the regime and among the monarchist opposition abroad, are no longer in a position of strength. For the moment, then, the Iranian power as it is, anti-Soviet, anti-communist, having suppressed all the democratic organizations, serves the White House's purposes.

[Question] You belong, notably to the Mojahedin, to the national resistance council. What force do you represent?

[Answer] We represent the only democratic alternative, although--we do not hide it--we are still weak, even if we are fighting in Kordistan, even if we are organizing demonstrations all across the country. Khomeyni's regime still has reserves at its disposal and puts its stakes on waging the war with Iraq, which distracts the Iranians' attention from the other fundamental problems.

[Question] How can you prepare for the alternative you are hoping for?

[Answer] In Kordistan we are carrying out guerrilla actions against Tehran's troops, and at the same time we are fighting for establishment of a true democracy in Iran, which will respect the right of all minorities. And already the National Resistance Council has adopted the principle of autonomy of the Kurdish people.

5588

CSO: 4619/23

CONTROVERSY CREATED AROUND USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS BY IRAQ

Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Mar 84 p 28

[Text] Relying on the testimony of a former Iranian university teacher who asked that his name be withheld, Xavier Banon, a newsman with the Central Press Agency (ACP) in Paris, reported on Thursday, 22 March that the Iranian nationals under treatment in European hospitals following the absorption of chemical substances had not been victims of mustard gas used by the Iraqis, but had been contaminated as the result of an explosion that occurred on 19 February in a petrochemical plant in Iran.

The Iranian witness quoted by the ACP states that there was an explosion on 19 February in a research center and a petrochemical plant in Marv-Dacht, not far from Shiraz, in Iran, both of which had been built with the aid of France and inaugurated by General de Gaulle in 1963. However, French petroleum circles say that they were not informed of this incident and add that if there had been such an explosion, it would have been known to the French experts.

The former Iranian university teacher informs the ACP that four of the Iranians hospitalized in Europe, particularly in Paris, Vienna and Stockholm, told him that they were civilians and not soldiers in the Iranian army and that they indeed worked in the petrochemical plant in Marv-Dacht. The same source states further that the explosion, the cause of which was accidental, would have resulted in the deaths of several Iranian employees and of ten or so foreign advisers, particularly from the countries of the East.

French informational sources say that they have serious doubts about the origin of the contamination of the Iranians hospitalized in Europe. This instance of poisoning by chemical substances has been well established by affidavit, though no one can be certain of the possibility that these gases were used by the Iranians in the combat area. The Iranians hospitalized describe their symptoms as if they had been taught to do so.

8089

CSO: 4619/35

IRAN

QOM CLERICS ASSAIL BAHRAINI GOVERNMENT MEASURES

GF080539 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 8 Apr 84

[Text] In connection with the official pressure in Bahrain against the revolutionary Muslims in that country and the ever increasing measures of the Bahrain officials against Islamic movements there, Bahraini students and clerics in Qom have issued a statement which draws the attention of the international community toward these antihuman and anti-Islamic actions of the Bahrain Government and records the condemnation of the Bahraini students and clerics at Qom against the acts of Bahraini officials.

According to a Central News Unit report from Qom, this message calls upon all freedom-loving Islamic organizations and the international organizations, the Friday imams all over the world, and imams of world communities and asks them to put pressure on the Bahrain Government to prevent the so-called security department of this state from oppressing Muslim right-seekers in Bahrain.

Another part of the message asks: Why should the Islamic learning centers in Bahrain be closed and the Friday imams, and young Muslim men and women be arrested in a very savage manner and be imprisoned? Therefore, the Bahrainis of the religious college here, in view of their religious duty and being an unseverable part of the Bahraini Muslims, condemn these anti-Islamic activities practiced with regard to ulema, mosques, and learning centers in Bahrain and warn the heads of the Bahrain Government against continuing this sacrilege.

CSO: 4640/191

IRAN CLANDESTINE REPORTS ON ASSAULTED ARMENIAN SOLDIER

GF090649 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1830 GMT 8 Apr 84

[Text] An Iranian Armenian regular soldier, who was assaulted in the warfronts by three mobilization members and who had killed them all following this action, was sentenced to death by Reyshahri, the revolution prosecutor of the army. He was shot by the families of the mentioned guards. This Armenian compatriot, who was pursued by the Guards Corps after avenging himself, took refuge with the commander of the ground forces and asked the military officials to take a look at his situation and not to let the guards shed his innocent blood. Following this, the Guards Corps sent a letter of complaint to the office of Khomeyni and asked for the return of the accused.

This moving report adds that Khomeyni wrote a letter to Sayyad-Shirazi with the help of his secretary, Ahmad 'ali Ahmadi-Shahrudi. In this letter he advised him not to interfere in religious matters which are none of his business. In his letter, Khomeyni advised that a pardon request for a Christian who has killed three fighters of Islam is considered as an insult to Islam and the person making the request is also subject to religious punishment. In his letter, Khomeyni said that the accusation of assault is a lie and an insult and called the accused a murderer and a hypocrite who should be killed by the families of the dead.

In his letter, Khomeyni claimed that even if sodomy took place, since the object is not a Muslim--just like Jews and Zoroastrians--then the families of the murdered individuals even have the right to ask for payment if the shar' magistrate stated so. Therefore, since the person accused of murder has confessed and since he has no witness--a witness being the foundation of judgment--he should immediately be subject to retribution for the murder of three crusaders of Islam.

CSO: 4640/193

INDIAN-SOVIET AGREEMENT CONTRIBUTES TO TENSION IN REGION

Karachi JANG in Urdu 11 Mar 84 p 3

[Editorial: "New Indo-Soviet Agreement"]

[Text] Under a new agreement signed between the Soviet Union and India at the conclusion of Soviet Defense Minister Marshall Ustinov's visit to India, the Soviets will supply the Indian Armed Forces with sophisticated fighter planes equipped with missiles, electronic tanks and the technology associated with this equipment. This agreement takes into consideration the needs and requirements of the Indian ground, sea and air forces and it is being said that these arms and ammunition are being supplied in compliance with India's intense and urgent needs for such equipment. Marshall Ustinov, during the course of his meetings with Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi, reportedly assured her that the Soviet Union will help India in every way possible to ward off the danger that India faces from Pakistan.

Every country has the right to make and buy arms for its defense. As against the attitude adopted by India, Pakistan has never objected to its neighbor's acquisition of the latest arms and equipment. Thus, whenever and whatever kind of agreement is reached between India and the Soviet Union, we cannot protest it directly. But when our big neighbor enters into negotiations for a supply of sophisticated military equipment with a superpower in such a way that not only is Pakistan referred to by name but it is stated in clear-cut terms that the agreement reached on the supply of military equipment is made to ward off the danger India faces from Pakistan, then it becomes impossible for us not to voice an objection to such an arrangement. Indian intellectuals and government officials are very fond of saying that the countries of the subcontinent should not get involved in the intervention of superpowers and that every effort should be made to keep South Asia outside their sphere of evil influence. Even at the seminar held in Islamabad last month, Indian journalists and intellectuals urged that the countries of the subcontinent enter into nonaggression pacts with one another and also cooperate with one another in preventing the world powers from spreading their influence in the region. It has become a habit with Mrs Indira Gandhi to accuse Pakistan of bringing the superpower struggle to the doors of the subcontinent by strengthening relations with a superpower. But now the agreement she has negotiated with the Soviet Union raises the question of whether such an agreement won't provide an opportunity to this superpower to increase its

influence in South Asia. But according to news reports, what is more outrageous is the fact that at the time the agreement was negotiated, the alleged danger India faces from Pakistan was mentioned in loud and clear terms. In other words, this could only indicate that the war preparations being made by India and the modern military equipment being acquired from Soviet Union are simply a link in the chain of its political tactics against Pakistan and that if the latter expresses any concern with respect to this agreement it should not be surprising at all. When such arrangements are being made and such incidents are taking place in its vicinity and neighborhood, Pakistan naturally cannot remain indifferent to its defensive needs, and when it tries to improve its defensive capability and takes advantage of available resources, then no fair-minded observers can have any objection. It was only natural for Pakistan to take all possible measures to deal with the new situation arising on its northwestern borders. India protested when Pakistan entered into a purely commercial agreement with the United States. In order to remove the fears and concerns expressed by India, Pakistan offered to sign a nonaggression pact with that country. India's reaction to this offer to date has inexplicably been one of total indifference. If India's attitude had been positive, a nonaggression pact would have been signed by now between the two countries, thereby restraining the arms race, and neither superpower would have any opportunity to spread its influence in the region. It is in the interest of the countries of South Asia and the subcontinent to reach some sort of agreement on the military spending and troop strength each can maintain, instead of competing with one another in preparations for war and the acquisition of arms and ammunitions. If India were to express its willingness to negotiate a non-aggression pact with Pakistan, the entire atmosphere in the subcontinent could be changed. The recent agreement concluded between India and the Soviet Union has contributed to increasing the tension in the region still further. If India continues to proceed along these lines, then the dream of reaching an understanding and policy of detente in the subcontinent can never be realized.

9315

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PAKISTAN INDUSTRIALISTS CRITICIZED FOR GREED, CORRUPTION

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 28 Feb 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Mr Daoud, All This is Your Doing"]

[Excerpts] Mr Ahmad Daoud, a prominent entrepreneur and the head of a very large industrial group, has complained that foreign entrepreneurs instead of Pakistani industrialists were being encouraged to invest in industry, that whenever a foreign mission visits Pakistan, the entire ministry follows the visitors around, but Pakistani investors are shown no such respectful attention. Mr Daoud spoke with great emotion during a reception in Karachi held by industrialists and businessmen in honor of Federal Minister of Labor Khan Ghulam Dastgir Khan.

Mr Daoud's complaint and bitterness may not be entirely without justification; Pakistani industrialists and entrepreneurs should be encouraged and honored. After all, one's own people are one's own, and outsiders will always remain outsiders. But if the situation mentioned by Mr Daoud is examined impartially, one would have to say unequivocally that Pakistani industrialists and capitalists are themselves mostly responsible for creating this situation. The thorns that they see in their path were scattered by themselves in better times. It could be said that these same industrialists and capitalists have contributed the most to creating economic and administrative shortcomings in the society and increasing moral corruption. The government granted the industrialists and capitalists important concessions, provided loan facilities and secure markets and thus afforded them the golden opportunity of using the income from one industry to start several more. The industrialists and capitalists made full use of these concessions, facilities and opportunities. But instead of rendering some service and working for the welfare of the country and society that had opened the doors of wealth to them (as is the commendable custom of industrialists and capitalists in other countries), they never repaid the debt that they owed to the government that had showered unlimited favors upon them nor did they discriminate between legal and illegal means in their acquisition of wealth. To avoid income taxes they kept duplicate accounts; they committed fraud involving their electricity, phone and other expenses by bribing concerned officials and found ways to dodge excise taxes. On the one hand, they formed banks and insurance companies in better days in order to gain control of even the small savings of the people, and on the other hand, to increase their earnings and appropriate unto themselves the

share belonging to businessmen, they established sales agencies and depots controlled indirectly by themselves. They went so far as to start their own advertising agencies for the purpose of saving on commissions and controlling newspapers. By coincidence, Mr Daoud was foremost among those industrialists and capitalists who were notably implicated in misusing government concessions and corrupting bureaucrats and officials.

The widening circle of the misuse of office and power started during the late Ayub Khan's term of office, when industrialists and capitalists played the most important role in leading those in power toward the accumulation of wealth and the bureaucracy toward the abandonment of financial prudence. This tendency intensified under other administrations and is now reaching its zenith. In Ayub Khan's time, when the industrialists and capitalists saw that the press was outside their control and that to continue their exploitation they would have to end the freedom of the press, about 70 of them contributed 100,000 rupees each to establish the so-called National Press Trust. Every important industrialist, including Mr Daoud, participated in this "meritorious task." If they find now that they have lost control of the undersecretaries, etc. who expect to be worshipped like gods so that by pleasing them the goddess of fortune may smile upon the industrialists and capitalists, it is the latter who are to blame. To serve their interests and continue their exploitation, the capitalists and industrialists corrupted the bureaucracy and led its notables on the wrong path; they will now have to suffer the consequences of their own deeds. As the saying goes, the harm one does oneself cannot be remedied. One not only hears nothing about the activities of the foundations that were established by the leading industrialist families during the Ayub administration to serve the people and improve their lot, but one does not even hear the names of these foundations mentioned any more. Seeing that the industrialists and capitalists did not recognize the rights of the country and the people; took no interest in serving the people and their welfare and corrupted both the bureaucracy and the ruling authorities, how can they now complain bitterly of the consequences of their own actions?

9863

CS0: 4656/101

FORMATION OF STRONG POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS URGED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 29 Feb 84 pp 3, 10

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani: "15 Questions That No One Can Answer"]

[Text] If you were to put any of the following questions to any Pakistani, including the most intelligent observer of the scene, you would find that he will not be able to answer any of them with any certainty:

1. When will martial law be abolished in Pakistan?
2. Will elections for the central and provincial assemblies and the senate be completed by 23 March 1985?
3. Will elections be held on a party or nonparty basis?
4. What do the ruling authorities mean by Islamic democracy?
5. Will elections be according to the proportional or single electoral ward system?
6. Is the 1973 constitution in effect, defunct or suspended?
7. Will the future constitution be parliamentary, presidential or a mixture of the two?
8. Will any part of the election process be completed this year or will everything prove to have been mere conjecture?
9. If any elections are held this year, will they be for provincial assemblies or the national assembly?
10. After elections for one of these two assemblies are held, will that ensure that elections will be held for the other or not?
11. If nominations are made to the national and provincial assemblies, on what basis will they be held and by whom?
12. If elections are held on a party basis, will only registered parties be allowed to participate?

13. Will the parties be given one more chance to register?
14. Will any particular party or parties be banned from participating in the elections?
15. Is it possible that political parties will remain banned during elections and until elections are completed?

These are the 15 questions that no one can answer with any certainty even though the authorities are being asked these same questions constantly and the press is continually discussing the questions. Undoubtedly, this situation demonstrates the skill of the ruling authorities in keeping ambiguous any subject they desire so that even after thousands of questions, the issue remains obscure. The authorities may consider this ambiguity and uncertainty a desirable condition, and they may be deliberately maintaining it for their own reasons, but there is hardly an individual or circle with any understanding of the country's political situation who is pleased with the situation and regards it as being in the country's interests. The government says that these questions will be answered at the "appropriate time," but no one can explain what that means. In the meantime, various hints are being thrown out to prepare the public mind for certain answers; for example, it is being said that Western-style democracy is not suitable for Pakistan and that the country needs an Islamic democracy. Political parties are being called un-Islamic; but what are totally ignored are the undesirable effects that nonparty elections will have on national life; the difficulties that will arise in forming a strong government that would adhere to a constitution and formulate a clear program when the parliament consists of members elected on an individual basis and the unfavorable conditions that the new experiment in democracy or quasi-democracy will face from the very outset. The authorities themselves maintain that they want a system that will remove the need for repeated martial laws. It has also been said that the next martial law may be the last one; but it appears that the course that will be adopted will ensure the establishment of an unstable government that will afford any enterprising individual a golden opportunity to rise to the top.

God willing, Pakistan will survive forever. Plans for the future political course should be drawn up in such a way that the country, by becoming connected with a single individual for 1, 4 or 10 years, will not be deprived of an ostensibly strong government. The establishment of strong political institutions should be ensured; these, then, would guarantee the establishment of a certain system and its continued existence so that the rise and fall of individuals would no longer affect the destinies of the people and the country and the question would not arise every few years as to what principles our political system should be based on. How can you expect stability if you expel political parties from the elections and democratic activity? And how can you ensure that during the 5-year tenure of the new government any constitution will be clearly followed? If God preserves Pakistan from foreign threats, the country will continue on its course regardless of the kind of government that comes into office. In demanding elections, the people do not mean to indicate that they want a few unbridled elements who do not believe in any system or constitution and are not answerable to any authority to become the masters of

the people simply to achieve their own private ends. If the people want elections, it is so that the people can examine the programs and principles of political parties and express their confidence in them; and the parties, in turn, should fulfill their promises and solve the problems of the people. This objective can be achieved only through party elections. If the authorities have the interests of the country at heart, they should set aside their mental reservations on this matter.

Those problems and questions that are creating anxiety among the people should also be solved according to the expectations of the people, and the policy of postponing decisions until the "appropriate time" should be abandoned. You may have your own concept of "appropriate time," which may be quite different from that of others, and your view may not necessarily be the right one. It is possible that in the view of others, it may already be too late; the present vacuum may be giving rise to suspicions and difficulties. But the present vacuum encourages suggestions for confederation, parity and similar slogans. What other explanation could there be? Would it not be better to present a clear program to the people and not allow the nation's vitality to be wasted in such negative discussions? To this end, basic questions should first of all be clearly answered and the present situation, which, as the saying goes, allows ghosts to live in an empty house, should be ended.

9863

CSO: 4656/101

BRIEFS

MUMTAZ BHUTTO ON BENAZIR'S EXIT--Leader of the People's Party and former federal minister Mumtaz Ali Bhutto said that sending Benazir Bhutto abroad was theatrics. Soon, he said, revelations will be made of the names of the people who helped her or advised her to leave the country. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto made these comments at the main gate of the Karachi central jail while bidding goodbye to lawyers who were being released. He added that he was still connected with the People's Party and had no intention of forming a new party as the statement of Benazir Bhutto prior to her departure abroad was in accordance with his views. He urged the lawyers to work according to the document he had issued earlier, which contained his ideology. He felt that in addition to the restoration of democracy, there was a need for greater provincial autonomy. He regretted that the Province of Punjab did not play an effective role in the civil disobedience movement and thus disappointed the lovers of democracy. He added that there was still hope for Punjab so long as no dichotomy was created in the nation. No leaders of MRD will be released until all cadres are released, he added. The MRD campaign continues, he said. [Text] [Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 23 Jan 84 p 1] 9859

MUMTAZ BHUTTO ON CONFEDERATION--A two-page document entitled "Confederation" is being circulated in the city. It has been given to Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, the People's Party Advisory Council and the party's workers, and their views on it have been sought. The following are its 10 points: restoration of democracy and its safeguards; supremacy of the constitution and law and order; guarantees of fundamental human rights and freedoms; protection of the country from martial law and military rule; protection of the rights and the autonomy of the provinces; a healthy climate among the provinces, steps to prevent exploitation and usurpation of the rights of one province by another; measures to stop one province from taking advantage of the wealth and resources of another province; guarantees of development and progress for all regions; ending an atmosphere of distrust and misgivings among provinces and creation of an environment of brotherhood and understanding among them. It has been suggested that there should be a federal system to implement the proposed 10 points. However, "it is not divinely ordained" that the federal government should concentrate all powers in itself, because that would contradict the resolution of 23 March 1940, by which Pakistan was created. That resolution called for a Pakistan composed of autonomous states. The circulated document does not bear any signatures but is believed to have been issued on behalf of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto. [Text] [Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 25 Jan 84 pp 1, 8] 9859

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